

HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XX

1909



PUBLISHED BY HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. The publication is supported by a fund of \$6000, generously subscribed by the class of 1856.

The late Professor JOHN H. WRIGHT was elected as one of the editors of this volume, and he read the manuscript of the second article, but did not survive to see any of it in print.

MORRIS H. MORGAN,	}	EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.
GEORGE H. CHASE,		

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LATIN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE HARVARD COLLECTION OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES

BY CLIFFORD H. MOORE

THE following inscriptions, with five exceptions, were purchased by me in Rome for the Department of the Classics during the academic year 1905-06. No. 9, which was bought by the late Professor Minton Warren in the previous year, has come into the possession of the Department since his death; nos. 33-36, secured and given to the Department by Dr. A. S. Pease, have been prepared by him for publication. Although nos. 2-4, 6, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 23, 24, 26-28, and 37 have already appeared in the *Corpus*, they are here repeated for convenience.

1. Pinea and base from Palestrina. The base (0.09 m. \times 0.26 m. \times 0.26 m.) is inscribed on one side in letters 0.028 m. high.



Cf. *CIL.* XIV, 3213:

L·FLAVTIO·M·F·L·N

2. *CIL.* VI, 34366. Small marble slab from a columbarium (0.12 m. \times 0.31 m. \times 0.065 m.); found between the Via Salaria and the Via Pinciana.

C·ALFIVS·C·L·
ERO

CIL. VI, 7890: *C. Alfius C. l. | Onirus | a. v. l.*, found in the Vineia Naria near the Via Salaria, apparently records a *conlibertus*. Cf. VI, 11450 and 34370.

3. *CIL.* VI, 34381. Half of a marble slab from a columbarium (0.18 m. \times 0.21 m. \times 0.025 m.). On the uninjured end an *ansa* is carved. Same source.

AMARAN *tiana*

CORNELIA

VIXIT · ANⁿ ·

ARESCVSA · *Soror*

LOCVM · ET · OLiam

4. *CIL.* VI, 34496. Small marble slab from the columbaria of the freedmen of the Apuleii, between the Via Salaria and the Via Pinciana (0.22 m. \times 0.24 m. \times 0.03 m.).

APPVLEIA · L · L · C · L ·

ATHENAIS

5. Small marble sepulchral altar (0.185 m. \times 0.17 m. \times 0.135 m.); purchased at the so-called Temple of Deus Rediculus. *Scriptura actuaria*.

D · M

ARTIDIAE ACTEN

POSVIT

PLOTIA · HYGIA · SORO

RI · BENE · MERENTI

6. *CIL.* VI, 9331. Slab of travertine (0.54 m. \times 0.45 m. \times 0.06 m.).

DIIS · MANIB

ATHICTO · THRHPTI

SALLVSTIAES · LVCAN

DISPESATOR · VICARI

5 HERMETIS · F · VIX ·

ANN · I · I · I · ET · MEN · I · I · I

DIEBVS · I · I · I

De Rossi read v. 2 THRHPTO, but the final I is clear on the stone, although vv. 2-4 run into the carved moulding which surrounds the inscription.

7. Slab of travertine (0.38 m. \times 0.60 m. \times 0.10 m.); found in February, 1906, in the excavations outside the Aurelian Wall for the new quarter between the Porta Pinciana and the Porta Salaria.

ATTIAE · SEX · L · DAPHNE
SECVNDVS · CAESARIS · AVG
EROTIAN · CONTVBERNAL
ET · SIBI · POSTERISQ · EORVM
IN · FR · PED · XII · IN AGR PED · XXIII

Cf. VI, 34573, found in the same district, which records an *Attia Threpte* and an *Attia Hedone*.

8. Marble slab (0.39 m. \times 0.84 m. \times 0.07 m.). Same source as No. 7.

DIIS · MANIBVS
AVFVSTIAE · HEDONE · VIXIT
ANNIS · LXXXX · FECIT ·
AVFVSTIA · O · L · STRATONICE
LIBERTIS · LIBERTABVS · POSTERISQ
EORVM · IN · FR · P · XII · IN · AGR · P · XVI

Cf. VI, 12861: *Dis Manibus | Aufustiae | Primae*, etc., said by Marini to have been found outside the Porta Salaria, and the fragmentary 34587, which certainly comes from that district.

9. Marble slab, the surface of which is much corroded by the action of water (0.30 m. \times 0.41 m. \times 0.03 m.). Source unknown.

M · BAEBIO · CE
LERI · QVI ET · BATO
DAZANTIS · F · DELMA ·
MIL · EX · CL · PR · MIS · O · VI
5 BI · MAXIMI · VIXIT · ANN
XL · MILIT · ANN · XVIII ·
FVLVIA · BASILIA · CONIV
GI · B · M · F · ET · LIBERTIS
LIBERTABVS · POSTERI
10 QVE · EORVM · OMNIB ·

*M. Baebio Ce | leri qui et Bato | Dazantis f(ilius) Delma(ta) | mil(iti)
ex cl(asse) pr(aetoria) Mis(enensi) cen(turia) Vi | bi Maximi vixit*

*ann(is) | XL milit(avit) ann(is) XVIII | Fulvia Basilia coniu | gi
b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit) et libertis | libertabus posteri(s) | que eorum
omniū(us).*

2 f. Bato is well known as an Illyrian name, being found most frequently in *CIL*. III. Two of the leaders in the Pannonian uprising of 6 A.D. bore this name, according to Vell. Paterc. 2, 110, 4; cf. 2, 114, 4; Suet. *Tib.* 20; Ovid *ex Pont.* 2, 1, 46; Dio C. 55, 29 ff.; 56, 12 ff. Bato was also the name of a gladiator whom Caracalla honored with a magnificent funeral, Dio C. 77, 6, 2; possibly to be identified with the gladiator represented on a basis in the Palazzo Doria. Vid. Matz-Duhn, *Bildwerke*, 3625; Schreiber-Anderson, *Atlas*, pl. 32, 3. Dasa, Dasas, Dazas, likewise is also most frequent in *CIL*. III; it is connected with Bato, *CIL*. III, 4276: *Bato Dasentis filius*; XIII, 7508: *Bato Dasantis filius natione Ditis miles ex cohorte IIII Delmatarum*. With the complete double name, cf. *CIL*. X, 3618: *C. Ravonius Celer qui et Bato Scenobarbi natione Dalmata*.

4 f. The *centuria Vibi Maximi* is not known to me from any other source.

10. Marble slab from a columbarium (0.16 m. × 0.29 m. × 0.03 m.).

DIS · MANIBVS
CAECILIAE Q F·FORTVNA
TAE · VIX · ANN · L ·
FECIT FLAVIA RESTITVTA
5 MAM · SVAE BENEMER

Mamma, equivalent to *nutrix* and as a term of endearment, is known to us both from literature and inscriptions. Cf. Mart. 1, 100, 1 f.; Varro quoted by Nonius 81, 4; *CIL*. VI, 12771; 23556; 29634. The women's names were already recorded *CIL*. VI, 13816 and 18416.

11. Marble slab with pedimented top, belonging to a *loculus* (0.15 m. × 0.24 m. × 0.02 m.).

CAPRIATIA · T · L ·
CINVRA ·

The name *Capriatia* is not known to me from any other source; *Cinura*, as a woman's name is found *CIL*. VI, 5185; IX, 3112, 3725, 4664; X, 6142, not to mention Horace's love — *bona, proterva, rapax*.

12. *CIL.* VI, 34978. Tall marble slab, found between the Via Salaria and the Via Pinciana (0.68 m. \times 0.22 m. \times 0.07 m.). *Scriptura actuaria.*

D . M
M . COCCEI
O . ALCIMO AVG
LIB . COCCEIA . LO
LIA . FECIT . PAT
RONO . SVO BE
NE . MERENTI

Cf. VI, 15890: *D. M. | M. Coccei | Chrysogoni | Cocceia Aug. lib. | Plutin(a) fratri | b(ene) m(erenti) fecit.*

13. Square marble cippus with sculptured top showing palmette between two rosettes (0.42 m. \times 0.21 m. \times 0.20 m.).

D . M
CORNELIAE
CORINTHIA
DI . Q . ATILIVS
MOSCHVS
VXORI
OPTIMAE
FECIT
CVM QVA
VIXIT
ANNIS . P . M .
XXXV

The name *Cornelia Corinthias* is found VI, 16371-16373.

14. *CIL.* VI, 35070. Tall marble slab, found between the Via Salaria and the Via Pinciana (0.73 m. \times 0.25 m. \times 0.055 m.).

D ^m
C CVRIATIO
CAECILIO
CLEMENTIANO
QVI . VIX . ANN . I
MENS . VI . D . VI
CLAVDIVS
ANTONINVS
TVTOR . PONENDVM
CVRAVIT

15. *CIL.* VI, 35142. Small marble slab from a columbarium, found between the Via Salaria and the Via Pinciana. The slab was unbroken when copied for the *Corpus*; its present condition is indicated below (0.19 m. \times 0.39 m. \times 0.025 m.).

EGNATIA	Q·MINVCIVS
FELICVLA	ANTHVS
VIX·AN·XXII	

16. Marble slab (0.36 m. \times 0.26 m. \times 0.04 m.). Lettering poor.

DIS·MANIBVS
 FELICI·BENE·MER
 FILIO·VIX·
 ANNIS IIII·DIEB·XXXXVIII
 AGATHEMER·PATER·ET
 FLAVIA·LAETA·MATER
 FILIO·PIISSIMO

17. *CIL.* VI, 35278. Marble slab, found between the Via Salaria and the Via Pinciana (0.51 m. \times 0.39 m. \times 0.035 m.).

D · M
 T·FLAVIO·ARCHE
 LAO·VIX·ANN
 XLVI·M·X·
 VALERIA·FLORA
 CONIVGI·B·M·F

VI, 28192 is the gravestone of a Valeria Flora.

18. *CIL.* VI, 35357. Tall marble slab, found in the same place as No. 17 (0.71 m. \times 0.32 m. \times 0.06 m.). The letters are slim, approaching the *scriptura actuarial*.

D · M
 FVSCVLAE·BENE
 MERENTI·ET·PIEN
 TISSIMAE·PECVLI
 AR·IS · CONIVNX
 ET·PRIMA·FILIA·
 FECERVNT

19. Small marble slab (0.13 m. \times 0.22 m. \times 0.02 m.).

HYMNIDI · L · CŎL
AGATHANGELI ·
CONTUBERNALIS · V · A · XXII

[H]ymnidi L(uci) cō(n)l(ibertae) | Agathangeli | contubernalis.
v(ixit) a(nnis) XXII.

20. Marble slab, originally covering a loculus, now considerably broken. Largest dimensions 0.40 m. \times 0.49 m. \times 0.05 m. The surface is worn, as if the slab had been used in modern times to pave the floor of some building. The letters are thin and poorly cut.



21. Marble slab (0.36 m. \times 0.35 m. \times 0.045 m.). Letters slim and not well cut.

D · M
CN · LVCRETIO PRISCO
CN · LVCRETIVS · SATYRVS
PATER · FIL · QVI · VIXIT · ANN · I · I · I ·
LIBERTIS LIBERTABVSQVE
POSTERISQVE EOR · FECIT

22. Small fragment of a marble slab (0.21 m. \times 0.21 m. \times 0.03 m.).



23. *CIL.* XIV, 1281. Sepulchral marble altar, found at Ostia (0.39 m. \times 0.30 m. \times 0.22 m.). On the left side the usual *patera*, on the right the *urceus*. The inscription is inclosed in a fluted border.

D m
 LVCRETIAE
 PRIMAE
 M LVCRETIVS
 RESTVTVS·PAT
 ET·POMPEIA·PROCLA
 MATER
 FILIAE·PIENTISSIMÆ
 FECERVNT
 V·A·XI·D·XXVI·

24. *CIL.* VI, 35814. Marble slab, found between the Via Salaria and Via Pinciana (0.24 m. \times 0.33 m. \times 0.025 m.).

D M
Q · MARI · REPERTI · VI
XIT · ANN · IIII · MENS · X · DI
EB · XI · Q · MARIVS · AGATHO
PVS · ET · CHARIS · ALVMNO
DVLCISSIMO · F · ET · S · P · S ·

25. Small upright marble slab (0.24 m. \times 0.11 m. \times 0.025 m.).
Letters rude.

OSSA
PANTA
GATHI

26. *CIL.* VI, 25792a. A marble slab which was unbroken when the copy was made for the *Corpus*. Same source as No. 24. When bought it was broken as indicated below; the fragment measures to-day in its largest dimensions 0.51 m. \times 0.23 m. \times 0.02 m.

SALLVSTIA · CRISPI · L · HELPIS
HERMOGENI/ AMERIMNO
VIRO FILIO
CHRYSEROTI · F CHIO · F

Other freedmen of the younger Sallust are known from VI, 25781a, 25788a, 33642, 33643; *Mith. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* XXI (1906), p. 87.

27. *CIL.* VI, 27871. Marble slab (0.37 m. \times 0.27 m. \times 0.03 m.).
Same source.

D M

TYCHES · QVAE · VIX
ANNIS · II · MENS · X
DIEB · I · I · I ·
CAECILIVS · EVHODVS
ET · SEXTILLA · CONIVNX
VERNACVLAE
DVLCISSIMAE
FECE

sic

28. *CIL*. VI, 28107. Tall marble slab, unbroken when copied for the *Corpus* (0.54 m. \times 0.22 m. \times 0.035 m.). At the top a man reclining on a couch is offering something to a bird. Same source.

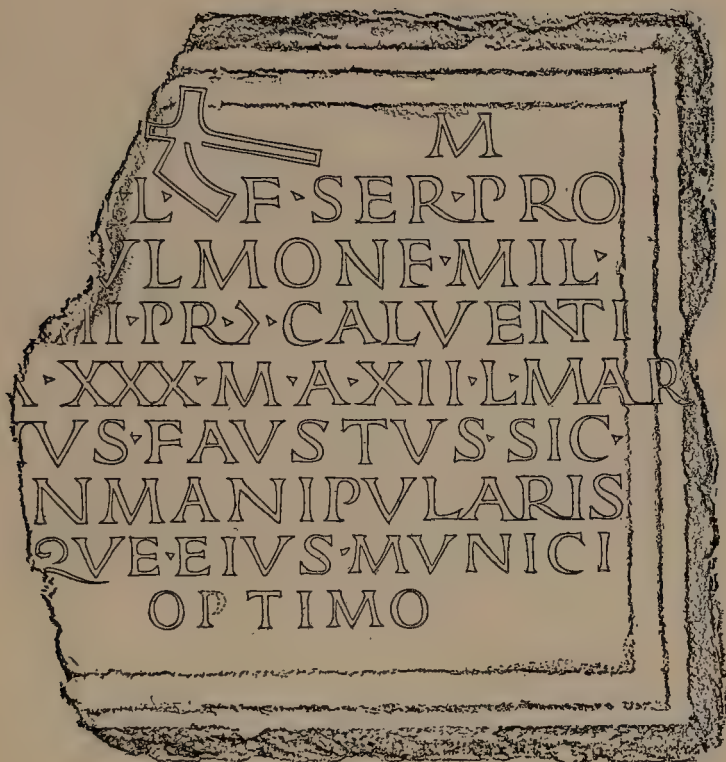
D . M
L·*VALERIO* ·*SABINO*
L·*VALERIVS* ·*RESTI*
TVTVS ·*ET* ·*ISIDIA* ·
5 *FORTVNATA* ·*FILIO*
DVLCISSIMO
FECERVNT·*QVI*·*VIX*·
ANN·*V*·*M*·*XI*·*D*·*XXI*·

In line 8, the *Corpus* reads erroneously *D*·*XII*.

29. Part of a marble slab (0.19 m. \times 0.40 m. \times 0.03 m.).

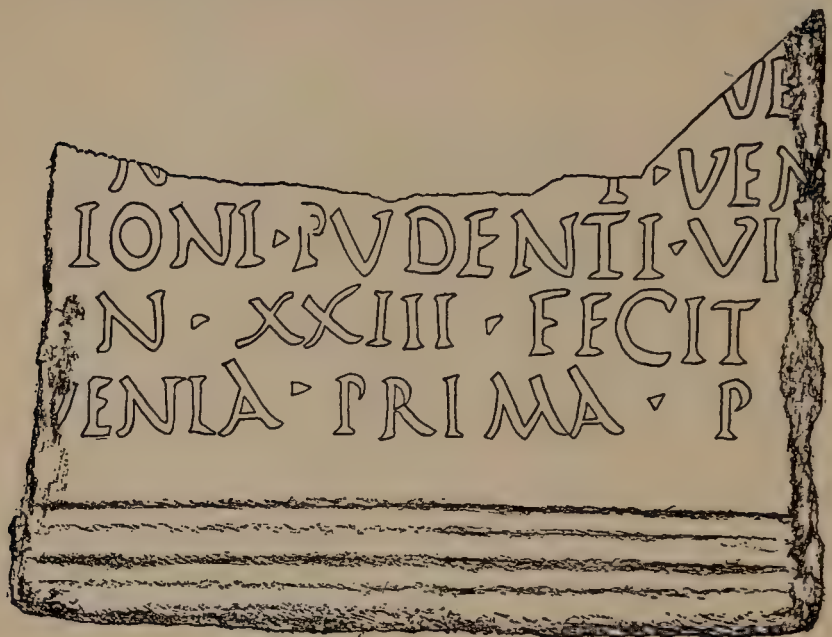
TIVVS ·*FECIT* ·*SIBI* ·*ET*
*patr**ONO* ·*BENE* ·*MERENTI* ·*ET*
*c**ONIVGI*·*ET*·*LIBERTIS*·
libertabuS ·*POSTERISQVAE*·
hoc monumentVM ·*HEREDEM* ·*NON* ·*S*·*EQVETVR*
in agRO ·*P*·*IIII*·

30. Part of a marble slab said to have been found in February, 1906, between the Via Salaria and Via Pinciana (0.27 m. \times 0.26 m. \times 0.045 m.).



This *centuria Calventi* is not otherwise recorded, so far as I have learned; *CIL.* VI, 32543 shows a *centuria* of the same name in the *cohors VIII praetoriana*, but it cannot be the same, for after the accession of Septimius Severus no Italians were employed as pretorians. Cf. Dio Cassius 74, 2, 4, whose statement is amply confirmed by the inscriptions. The only other pretorian from Sulmo known to us is the probable case recorded in *CIL.* IX, 3081. Cf. Bohn, *Eph. Epig.* V, pp. 250-258.

31. Fragment of a marble slab (0.19 m. \times 0.24 m. \times 0.025 m.).



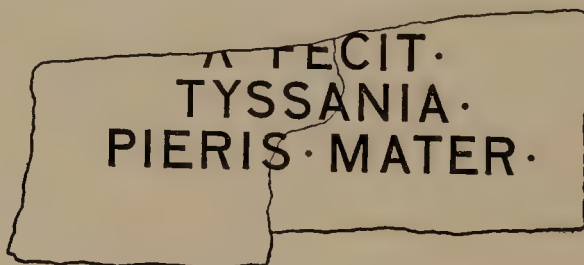
32. A section of a lead pipe.

IMP ANTONINI AVG N/
C LICINIUS PRIMVS IVN FEC/

33. Marble slab from a columbarium (0.08 m. \times 0.40 m. \times 0.025 m.).

MVTIVS · L · L · BITHVS
MVTIA · L · L · HILARA

34. Two fragments of a marble slab, which when joined measure 0.105 m. \times 0.20 m. \times 0.03 m. The lines scratched to guide the cutter are clearly visible, and there are considerable remains of minium in the letters.

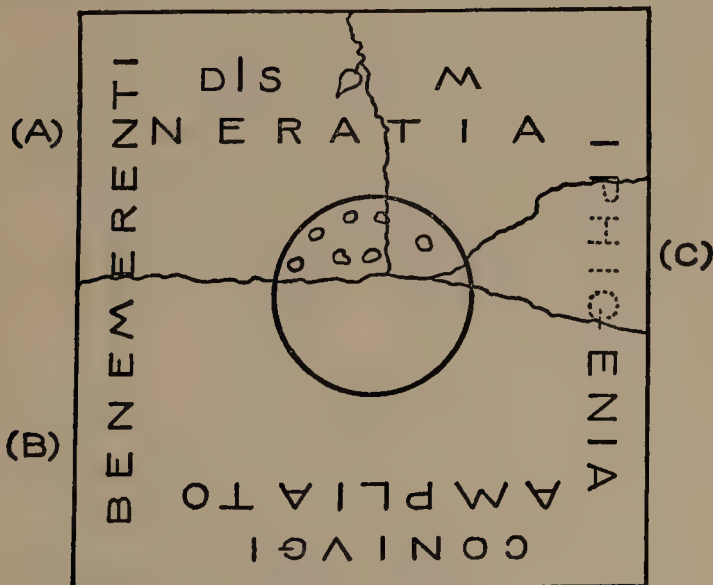


The feminine Tussania is found in *CIL*. VI, 1534, 23612; the masculine Tussanius is more common; e.g. *CIL*. VI, 218, 1058, 1534, 23612, 27843; XIV, 175; etc.

35. Two fragments of a marble slab from a columbarium, which when taken together measure in their largest dimensions 0.14 m. \times 0.295 m. \times 0.025 m.



A second fragment (B), nearly completing the slab, has been published by Professor Guiseppe Gatti, *Notizie degli Scari*, 1906, p. 96; *Bull. Comm.* XXXIV (1906), p. 93. When the two are combined the missing letters can readily be supplied.



Iphigenia as a Roman cognomen is attested by *CIL.* VI, 19697, 21119; IX, 2372.

36. A potsherd of red clay, found in December, 1905, on Monte Testaccio, near the points marked F and G in the plan in *CIL.* XV, p. 491. The inscription was scratched before firing, and later covered with a yellowish gray slip. The wheel-marks inside show that the fragment is from near the bottom of the jar, and that the inscription was upside down. The thickness of the fragment varies from 0.009–0.014 m. For similar sherds see *CIL.* XV, 3584–3617. In these the names of persons are infrequent and usually refer to potters.



Priami Clari

The following in my private possession are added for completeness.

37. *CIL.* VI, 31085. Fragment of a marble *ex-voto*, of which only the base, the two feet of a standing figure, a portion of the robe, and a scrinium are left. On the base is the inscription.

P · S · C · V · L · S · M ·

38. Marble slab from a columbarium (0.135 m. × 0.28 m. × 0.02 m.). The metal nail is still in place at one end.

L · VETTIVS · L · L ·

AMPIO ·

CLODIA · C · L

TESPIA

39. Marble slab from a columbarium (0.09 m. × 0.18 m. × 0.02 m.).

SALLVIA · L · L

ARESCVSA

CLASSICAL ELEMENTS IN BROWNING'S
ARISTOPHANES' APOLOGY

BY CARL NEWELL JACKSON

A CRITIC in a review published in the London *Athenaeum* (April 17, 1875), shortly after the publication of Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*, remarked that the poem is "unintelligible to anyone who does not know Aristophanes almost by heart." To the truth of this statement all who have read the poem can subscribe; for every page is made up of references to characters, incidents, and plots in the works of Aristophanes. The unintelligibility of the poem, then, is due not so much to Browning's opacity of style and subtleties of thought — though dark sayings exist — as to recondite and obscure allusions. A good knowledge of Aristophanes is essential to enable a reader to comprehend fully the force of the *Apology*; but the word 'Aristophanes' must be interpreted in a larger sense than that intended by the reviewer, and in what sense it is the object of this article to show. My purpose is to indicate the range and the nature of the sources Browning used in the composition of the work. A knowledge of these sources will assist materially towards making the *Apology* intelligible.

The writer of the review mentioned above has traced the germ-idea, out of which the poem grew, to those discussions of the *Symposium* of Plato that Browning, an Honorary Fellow of Balliol, very probably held with Jowett, Master of Balliol, who had completed his translation four years prior to the publication of the *Apology* (1875). Not only did the irruption of Alcibiades and his revellers suggest the idea of a somewhat similar scene in the *Apology*, but the very thesis that Socrates was maintaining — that the germ of comedy is the same as that of tragedy and that the writer of tragedy ought to be a writer of comedy also — is an adumbration of the debate between Aristophanes and Balaustion touching the virtues of comedy and tragedy.

Be that as it may, we are not concerned at present with speculation but with the elements that entered directly into the composition of the

poem. As this revolves largely around the personality of Aristophanes, to his plays must we have recourse first.¹

The poem of Browning is veined with quotations from the comedies of Aristophanes. These quotations consist of single words, phrases, half-lines, lines.² Thus — the name Aristophanes gives to his dancing-girl, Chrusomelolonthion, which Browning translates "Girl-goldling-beetle-beauty" (675 *b*) is derived from the *Wasps* 1341. The expression (668 *a*) "Prove thee Olympian" becomes clear after a reference to *Ach.* 530, Περικλέης οὐλύμπιος; so too is "fawn-foot" intelligible, if one remembers the meaning of Elaphion (cf. *Thes.* 1172):

Behold Elaphion of the Persic dance!
Who lately had frisked fawn-foot. (674 *a*)

The words (667 *b*) "sham-prophecy-retailer," "scout o' the customs," "altar-scrap-snatcher" are respectively χρησμολόγος (*Av.* 960; *Pax* 1047, 1094), εἰκοστολόγος (*Ran.* 363), and βωμολόχος (*Eq.* 1358 and elsewhere). The common phrase εἰς κόρακας Browning translates now as "join the crows" (707 *b*), or as "crows take him" (739 *b*), or as "forward to the crows" (675 *b*), or "to its crow-kindred" (690 *b*), or "go and feed the crows" (695 *b*). The epithet "Iostephanos" (679 *a* and 739 *b*) is borrowed from *Ach.* 637 (or *Eq.* 1323 and 1329); and Aristophanes' designation of the Athenians as χαννοπολίτας (*Ach.* 635) is translated as "city of gapers" (670 *b*) or "gapers" (680 *b*: cf. also *Eq.* 78, 261, 1262), whereas the "Rocky Ones" (692 *b*) recalls the Κραναῶν of the *Birds* 123 (see also *Ach.* 75). The "Little-in-the-Fields" (678 *a*) is but a conflation of τὰ μικρά and τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς (*Ach.* 202, 250) — two names for the Dionysiac festival held in December.³

¹ To Professor John Williams White's suggestions and help I desire to express my indebtedness.

² In citing the plays of Aristophanes I refer to the edition of Meineke. Numbers followed by the letters *a* or *b* refer to the pages and the columns of the Macmillan edition of Browning's Poems, Volume I.

³ Other instances of single words drawn from the plays are as follows. The "speak good words" (669 *b*) is the εὐφήμεῖ of the *Clouds* 298 (cf. *Eq.* 1316). "Chaunoprockt" (699 *a*) is traceable to *Ach.* 104 and 106, "Kimberic" (695 *a*) to *Lys.* 45 and 52, and "Whirligig" (691 *b*) to the δῖνος of the *Clouds* 381. The "Good Genius" whom Strattis toasts (684 *b*; see also 676 *b*) is the ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος of the *Knights* 85 (106 and elsewhere). The "Wine-lees-song" (690 *a*) is a translation of τρυγηθία

Browning's familiarity with the plays of Aristophanes is further attested by the many half-lines and lines that are incorporated in the *Apology*. These expressions are in general self-explanatory. Thus, the words (681*a*) :

Romp with one's Thratta, pretty serving girl
When wife's busy bathing,

are a translation of *Peace* 1138 :

χᾶμα τὴν Θράτταν κυνῶν
τῆς γυναικὸς λουμένης.

The adjectives applied to Agathon (682*b*) "girl-voiced, crocus-vested" are to be found in *Thes.* 192 (γυναικόφωνος) and 253 (κροκωτόν). The phrase (691*a*) "as fig-leaf holds the fat-fry" is borrowed from the *Knights* 954, δημοῦ βοείου θρίον ἐξωπτημένον (cf. *Ach.* 1102), as "step forward, strip for anapaests" (676*a*) is from the *Acharnians* 627, ἀποδύντες τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπίωμεν. The "leek-and-onion-plait" (680*a*) with which the scourge of Aristophanes is armed, is one of the instruments of torture named by Xanthias in the *Frogs* 621 :

πλὴν πράσῳ
μὴ τύπτε τοῦτον μηδὲ γητεῖω νέῳ.

The gastronomic description of the shark's head (682*b*) :

dished in Sphettian vinegar,
Silphion and honey, served with cock's brain sauce !

(e.g. *Ach.* 499; cf. "the goat-song" — 676*a* — as a translation of "tragedy"), and the "Chœs-feast" or "Choes" (694*a*) reproduces the τοὺς χῶας of *Ach.* 961, 1076, 1211. The ejaculations, "Threttanelo" (675*b*), "Babaiax" (682*b*), and "Alalé" (686*a*) are Aristophanic and may be found respectively in *Plut.* 290, 296; *Ach.* 64 (and elsewhere); *Lys.* 1291. From the *Frogs* 293 may be derived the "Empousa" (694*b*; cf. *Eccl.* 1056), and in the same play (vv. 354 and 369) we recognize the "Hence, impure" of the Chorus (707*b*). The "Speculation-shop" (710*b*) recalls the *Clouds* (e.g. 94), as does the "Kordax-step" (667*b*) (*ibid.* 540 and 555). In the sentence "Euripides had taught 'Andromedé'" (669*a*), the peculiar meaning of the verb διδάσκω is recognized (cf. *Ran.* 1026). Aristophanes' designation of himself as "Bald-head" (681*b*; see also 674*b*, 676*a*, 679*b*, 682*a*) reminds one of *Eq.* 550, *Nub.* 540, and *Pax* 767. The "phorminx" (675*a*) may be found in *Av.* 219 or *Thes.* 327; the "cheek-band" (675*a*) is the φορβέλα (*Vesp.* 582; cf. *Av.* 861). The phrase "hacks at the Hermai" (686*b*) may be a reminiscence of *Lys.* 1094, ἐρμοκοπιδῶν, as the "three-crest-skull-caps" (675*b*) is of the *Birds* 94 or *Ach.* *passim*, e.g. 1107, and the "three days' salt-fish slice" (675*b*) of *Ach.* 197 and 967 (cf. *Pax* 312).

seems to owe its origin to the polysyllabic word in *Eccl.* 1168 (cf. also *Av.* 535 and *Plut.* 720). The phrase "looks wormwood and all bitter herbs" (675*b*) recalls such expressions as βλέπουσα θυμβροφάγον (*Ach.* 254), κάβλεψε νᾶπυ (*Eq.* 631), βλέπόντων κάρδαμα (*Vesp.* 455), and βλέποντ' ὀρίγανον (*Ran.* 603): so the "glanced gloom" (680*a*) reproduces the βλέπειν τὸ δεινόν of the *Frogs* (593). The expressions with which Aristophanes closes his defence in the debate with Balaustion (702*b*):

Three cuckoos who cry 'cuckoo'! much I care!
They boil a stone!

are an obvious reminiscence of the words in the *Acharnians* 598, κόκκυγές γε τρεῖς, in the *Birds* 505, χῶπόθ' ὁ κόκκυξ εἶποι κόκκυ, and in the *Wasps* 280, λίθον ἔψεις.¹

¹ I add other similar expressions: the description of the tettix (680*b*):

"That sip the dew and sing on olive-branch,"

owes something to *Av.* 39:

οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὖν τέττιγες ἕνα μῆν' ἡ δύο
ἐπὶ τῶν κραδῶν ᾄδουσ'. (Cf. *Nub.* 1360.)

The lines (676*a*):

No tickling audience into gratitude
With chickpease, barleygroats and nuts and plums,

repeat the sentiment of *Pax* 961:

σὺ δὲ πρότεινε τῶν ὀλῶν·
καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ῥίπτε τῶν κριθῶν,

or *Vesp.* 58:

ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὔτε κάρυ' ἐκ φορμίδος
δοῦλω διαρριπτοῦντε τοῖς θεωμένοις.

The "dinner every day at public cost I' the Prutaneion" (681*b*) is a reminiscence of *Ran.* 764, σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ (see also *Eq.* 535, 574; *Pax* 1084), as the "horse-flesh branded *San*" (692*b*) recalls the σαμφόρας of *Nub.* 122 (cf. *ibid.* 1298 and *Eq.* 603); similarly "Leogoras' blood-mare koppa-marked" (671*a*) takes us back to the κοππατίας of *Nub.* 23. The exclamation "shadow of an ass" (670*a*) is the ὄνου σκιᾶς of the *Wasps* 191; the phrases "salt without thyme" (682*b*), "the Scythian's whip" (672*a*), and "flay your dead dog" (676*a*), come from *Ach.* 772, θυμυτιδᾶν ἀλῶν (cf. *ibid.* 1099), *Thes.* 1125, μαστιγῶ (referring to the τοξότης), and *Lys.* 158, κύνα δέρειν δεδαρμένην. The "Bakis-prophecy" (744*b*) may be found in *Av.* 962 as well as elsewhere in Aristophanes. The command "Respect the dead" (688*b*; see also 688*a* and 741*b*, "Death defends") may be a reminiscence of the speech of Trygaeus (*Pax* 648-657; cf. *Schol. ibid.* 648). The fickleness of the

Such quotations as these, close renderings of the original, are easily apprehended by the general reader. But there are many reminiscences of the plays that convey little meaning without a knowledge of the context in which they stand. What sense can the uninitiated gather from the following (681 *a*) :

Row, boys, munch barley-bread, and take your ease —
Mindful, however, of the tier beneath !

unless one compares *Ran.* 1073 :

οὐκ ἠπίσταντ' ἀλλ' ἣ μᾶζαν καλέσαι καὶ ῥυππαπαῖ εἰπεῖν.
νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, καὶ προσπαρδεῖν γ' ἐς τὸ στόμα τῷ θαλάμακι.

Or again what meaning is conveyed by the words (710 *b*) :

He (Cleon) duty done, resumed mere auditor,
Laughed with the loudest at his Lamia-shape,
Kukloboros-roaring, and the camel-rest,

without a knowledge of *Ach.* 381, κακυκλοβόρει, and *Pax* 757 :

φωνὴν δ' εἶχεν χαράδρας ὄλεθρον τετοκνίας,
φώκης δ' ὁσμήν, λαμίας ὄρχεις ἀπλύτους, πρωκτὸν δὲ καμήλου.

The obscurity in the lines (676 *a*) :

Choros in rags, with loss of leather next,
We lose the boys' vote,

is cleared away by a reference to *Nub.* 537 (see also *Pax* 766) :

ὥς δὲ σώφρων ἐστὶ φύσει σκέψασθ'· ἥτις πρῶτα μὲν
οὐδὲν ἦλθε ῥαφαμένη σκυτίον καθειμένον
ἐρυθρόν ἐξ ἄκρου παχύ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἴν' ἣ γέλως.

The passage (675 *b*) :

Go, get you the goat's breakfast ! Fare afield,
Ye circumcised of Egypt, pigs to sow,
Back to the Priest's or forward to the crows,

Athenians to which Lysander refers (745 *a*) at least concurs with Aristophanes' own appellation, *Ach.* 630 and 632; and the description of the Spartans (744 *b*) as

“men used to let their hair grow long,
To fast, be dirty, and just — Sokratize ”

is a close translation of the *Birds* 1282 :

ἐλακωνομάνουν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι τότε,
ἐκόμων ἐπείνων ἐρρύπων ἐσωκράτων.

in which Aristophanes bids his chorus retire from the house of Balaustion, contains Aristophanic expressions familiar to the reader of the plays (cf. *Plut.* 295 and 315; *Av.* 507).¹

A verse in the *Knights* 1321:

τὸν Δῆμον ἀφεψήσας ὑμῖν καλὸν ἐξ αἰσχροῦ πεποίηκα

is expanded in our poem into:

Demos, see,
From folly's premature decrepitude
Boiled young again, emerges from the stew
Of twenty-five years' trouble (699*a*).

All the plays contribute, each its share, towards making up this aggregate of quotations. Moreover, by a mild anachronism, lines from the *Frogs* and the *Ecclesiazusae*, as well as the *Plutus*, appear, though these plays are subsequent in time to the *Apology*, the dramatic date of which is 406 B.C. The lines

Zeus? I have styled him — 'slave, mere thrashing-block!' (701*a*),
and

He (Lamachos) died, commanding, "hero" say yourself (708*a*),
are to be compared with *Ran.* 756:

πρὸς Διός, ὃς ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὁμομαστιγίας

and *Ran.* 1039:

ὦν ἦν καὶ Λάμαχος ἥρως.

In the passage (743*a*):

As if the poet, primed with Thasian juice
(Himself swore — wine that conquers every kind
For long abiding in the head),

there is a quotation from *Ecccl.* 1118:

πολὺ δ' ὑπερπέπαικεν αὖ
τούτων ἀπάντων τὰ θάσι' ἀμφορεΐδια.
ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ γὰρ ἐμμένει πολὺν χρόνον,

¹ The phrase "Back to the Priest's" alludes to the Priest's supper (676*a*, *b*; 682*a*) whence Aristophanes had come after celebrating his victory with the second *Thesmophoriazusae*. The idea of this supper was perhaps suggested to Browning by the words, *Ach.* 1087, ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου γὰρ σ' ἱερὸς μεταπέμπεται; in other places he speaks of the "Archon's feast" (674*b* and 684*b*). The "Fare afield," etc., appears elsewhere in the *Apology* as "A-field, ye cribbed of cape" (682*a*; *Av.* 507, ψωλοὶ πεδίωνδε).

just as the line, "and consecrate the same into a bag" (701*b*) is a quotation from *Plut.* 681 :

ἔπειτα ταῦθ' ἤγιζεν ἐς σάκταν τινά.¹

But this borrowing on Browning's part is not restricted to words and phrases. In the debate that ensues between Aristophanes and Balaustion, the arguments used by both to maintain their respective theses are drawn very largely from the subject-matter of the plays. The characters gibbeted by Aristophanes in his comedies appear again with their familiar traits. The gist of a parabasis is extracted and reproduced in concise form. Scenes or entire plays are presented in outline and the lessons they may convey are appropriated and interpreted by each of the disputants to support his argument. Let us consider the plays separately.

The line (708*a*),

Black, blacker than Acharnian charcoal,

is an obvious reference to the *Acharnians*. In that passage (685*a*) in which Browning makes allusion to several of the plays of Aristophanes, this same play is meant in the words :

Hail who implied, by limning Lamachos,²
Plenty and pastime wait on peace, not war !

as well as in the lines 675 *b* :

In three-crest skull-caps, three days' salt-fish-slice,
Three-banked-ships for these sham ambassadors,

(cf. *ibid.* 91, *Ψευδαπράβας*, and 965, 967), and in 706*a* .

Or foreign legates blushed, excepted to.

One of the characters appears in the passage (669*b*) :

his own Amphitheos, deity
And dung, who, bound on the gods' embassy,
Got men's acknowledgment in kick and cuff,

¹ There may be an echo of *Plutus* 584 :

πῶς ἂν ποιῶν τὸν ὀλυμπικὸν αὐτὸς ἀγῶνα, κ.τ.λ.

in "Your games, — the Olympian, Zeus gave birth to these" (705*b*).

² Cf. 707*b*, "But Lamachos absurd, — case, crests and all," with *Ach.* 572 sqq.; 965; 1107.

with which should be compared *Ach.* 51 :

ἀθάνατός εἰμ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ θεοὶ
σπονδὰς ποιῆσαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μόνω.

and *ibid.* 182 :

ἔπειτ' ἀνέκραγον πάντες, ὃ μιαιώτατε
σπονδὰς φέρεις τῶν ἀμπέλων τετμημένων;
κὰς τοὺς τρίβωνας συνελέγοντο τῶν λίθων·
ἐγὼ δ' ἔφενγον· οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον κᾶβόνων.

In the words, 709 *a*,

“Take my buckler be,
Embossed with cream clot! peace, not war, I choose,
Holding with Dikaio polis!”

we have the protagonist and his command (*ibid.* 1125) :

καμοὶ πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτον δὸς κύκλον.

Another reference to the play may be found in the following (682 *b*) :

The Great King's Eye
Has brought a present for Elaphion here,
That rarest peacock Kompolakuthes!

based on *ibid.* 91 :

καὶ νῦν ἄγοντες ἤκομεν Ψευδαρτάβαν,
τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν,

and *ibid.* 588 :

εἰπέ μοι τίνος ποτὲ
ὄρνιθός ἐστιν; ἄρα κομπολακύθου;

cf. also *ibid.* 1182. From the parabasis, *ibid.* 633 and 645 sqq.,

φασὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής

and

τὸν ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον,
ὅστις παρεκινδύνευσ' εἰπεῖν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὰ δίκαια,

is drawn the sentiment expressed in the verses (699 *a*) :

But seeks (Demos) out sound advisers. Who are they?
Ourselves, of parentage proved wise and good.¹

¹ See also *Vesp.* 1017 and 1043.

The incident referred to in the lines (710 a) :

Perikles invents this present war
Because men robbed his mistress of three maids,

comes from *ibid.* 526 :

καὶ θ' οἱ Μεγαρήης ὀδύνας πεφυσιγγωμένοι
ἀντεξέκλειψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνα δύο,

and the line farther on (*ibid.* 531) :

ἥστραπτ', ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα,

no doubt suggested the words (668 a) :

Thunder and lighten thence a Hellas through.

The praises of Peace and the material blessings that she bestows are common subjects in the *Acharnians* as well as in the *Peace*: and when Balaustion argues that Aristophanes' advocacy of Peace means

the power

On maw of pan-cake, cheese-cake, barley-cake (708 b),

she draws her arguments from these two plays. On the *Ach.* 1085 sqq. is based the long passage beginning (709 a), "Cakes are prime" through the words "Holding with Dikaiopolis." Thus,

"Cakes are prime,

Hearth-sides are snug, sleek dancing-girls have worth,"

remind one of the words in the invitation given to Dicaeopolis by the herald (*ibid.* 1091) :

αἱ πόρναι πάρα,

ἄμυλοι πλακοῦντες σησαμοῦντες ἴτρια,

ὀρχηστρίδες,

as well as of the implication in the reply of the Megarian (*ibid.* 751) :

διαπεινᾶμες ἀεὶ ποττὸ πῦρ.

(Cf. *Peace* 1131.) So the line (709 a),

I would chew sliced-salt-fish, bear snow,

calls to mind such expressions in the play as (*Ach.* 1075) :

κάπεται τηρεῖν νιφόμενον τὰς ἐσβολάς;

(*ibid.* 1141) :

νίφει. βαβαιάξ· χειμέρια τὰ πράγματα,

and (*ibid.* 1101) :

θρῖον τὰρίχους οἶσε δέυρο παῖ σαπροῦ.

Of similar import is the passage (708b) :

While, in camp,
Who fights chews rancid tunny, onions raw,
Peace sits at cosy feast with lamp and fire,
Complaisant smooth-sleeked flute-girls giggling gay.
How thick and fast the snow falls, freezing War
Who shrugs, campaigns it, and may break a shin
Or twist an ankle!

in which we recognize the influence not only of the lines from the *Acharnians* just quoted, but also of such words as these which issue from the mouth of Lamachus (v. 1099) :

ἄλας θυμίτας οἶσε παῖ καὶ κρόμμνα,

and of these, descriptive of this general's accident (v. 1178) :

ἄνῃρ τέτρωται χάρακι διαπηδῶν τάφρον,
καὶ τὸ σφυρὸν παλίνορρον ἐξεκόκκισεν,
καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθον πεσών.¹

¹ In this passage (688b) :

Mindful, from the first, where foe
Would hide head safe when hand had flung its stone
First face a-splutter at me got such splotch
Of prompt slab-mud as, filling mouth to maw,
Made its concern thenceforward not so much
To criticize me as go cleanse itself,

or (*ibid.*) :

But allow me clutch
Only a carrion-handful
Would not I rub each face in its own filth,

there may be an echo of *Ach.* 1150 and *Schol. ad loc.*, and 1167-1173. So, too, the line, *Ach.* 1229:

καὶ πρὸς γ' ἄκρατον ἐγγέας ἄμυστιν ἐξέλαψα,

may have suggested (671a) :

The girl could swallow at a draught, nor breathe,
A choinix of unmixed Mendesian wine.

The *Knights* is specifically called the *Horses* (684 *a*), and allusion to the play and its subject is made in the verses (685 *a*) :

The Paphlagonian — stick to the old sway
Of few and wise, not rabble-government !¹

and again in the words (699 *a*) :

no sausage-selling snob (i. e. the ἀλλαντοπώλης).

The lines (672 *b*) :

when citizens
Like Aristides and like Miltiades
Wore each a golden tettix in his hair,

recall *Eq.* 1325 and 1331 :

οἷός περ Ἀριστείδη πρότερον καὶ Μιλτιάδη συνεσίται,
and
ὅδ' ἐκείνος ὄραν τεττιγοφόρας, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός.

Of his chief contemporary Balaustion makes Aristophanes speak (711 *a*) in terms very much like those used in *Eq.* 531-536 :

I pity from my soul that sad effete
Toothless old mumblor called Kratinos ! once
My rival, — now, alack, the dotard slinks
Ragged and hungry to what hole's his home;
Ay slinks thro' byways where no passenger
Flings him a bone to pick.

The rivalry between these two comic poets, which came to a head in the historic contest in 423 B.C., when the Πυτίνη proved superior to the *Clouds*, and which resulted in the discomfiture of Aristophanes, is referred to in that passage in which he makes apology to Balaustion for his intoxicated condition (676 *a*) :

Drink's a god.
How else did that old doating driveller
Kratinos foil me, match my masterpiece
The 'Clouds' ? I swallowed cloud-distilment-dew
Undimmed by any grape-blush, knit my brow
And gnawed my style and laughed my learnedest;
While he worked at his 'Willow-wicker-flash,'
Swigging at that same flask by which he swore, etc.,

¹ Compare (699 *a*) :

No longer loves the brutish demagogue
Appointed by a bestial multitude,

and (706 *b*) :

Withstand mob-rule, expose mob-flattery,
Punish mob-favourites.

and again (711*a*):

While daft Kratinos—home to hole trudged he,
Wrung dry his wit to the last vinous dregs,
Decanted them to "Bottle,"—beat, next year,—
"Bottle" and dregs—your best of "Clouds" and dew!

The *Clouds* is named again (684*a*; 688*b*) and alluded to in the persons of the characters Strepsiades (685*a*), and Pheidippides (744*a*), with whom Alcibiades (there called Triphales) is identified. The subject matter of the play is concisely expressed in lines (691*b*):

I attacked . . .

Sokrates? No, but that pernicious seed
Of sophists whereby hopeful youth is taught
To jabber argument, chop logic, pore
On sun and moon, and worship whirligig,

and (706*a*):

Before new educators stood reproved.

The component parts of these verses call to mind the argument between the Just and the Unjust Cause (*Nub.* 112, 889 sqq.), the remark of Sokrates (*ibid.* 225) ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον, and the δῖνος (*ibid.* 380), which elsewhere (710*a*) appears in the line:

'They war with gods and worship whirligig.'

In the following lines there are many reminiscences of the play (694*a*):

Stick to the good old stories, think the rain
Is—Zeus distilling pickle through a sieve!
Think thunder's thrown to break Theoros' head
For breaking oaths first! Meanwhile let ourselves
Instruct your progeny you prate like fools
Of father Zeus, who's but the atmosphere,
Brother Poseidon, otherwise called—sea
And son Hephaistos—fire and nothing else!
Over which nothings there's a something still,
"Necessity," that rules the universe
And cares as much about your Choes-feast
Performed or intermitted, as you care
Whether gnats sound their trump from head or tail!

The opening lines of this passage should be compared with *Nub.* 373:

καίτοι πρότερον τὸν Δί' ἀληθῶς ψῆμην διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν

and *ibid.* 399 :

εἵπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, πῶς οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν
οὐδὲ Κλεώνυμον οὐδὲ Θέωρον; καίτοι σφόδρα γ' εἰς' ἐπίορκοι.

The identification of Zeus with the atmosphere may reflect the statement of *ibid.* 264 :

ὦ δέσποτ' ἀναξ ἀμέτρητ' ἀήρ, ὃς ἔχεις τὴν γῆν μετέωρον,¹

and the influence of *ibid.* 376 and 164 may be seen in the closing lines of the passage above :

ὅταν ἐμπλησθῶσ' ὕδατος πολλοῦ κἀναγκασθῶσι φέρεσθαι,
κατακρημνόμεναι πλήρεις ὄμβρου δι' ἀνάγκην, εἴτα βαρεῖαι
εἰς ἀλλήλας ἐμπίπτουσαι ῥήγνυνται καὶ παταγοῦσιν, κ.τ.λ.²

and

τὸν πρωκτὸν ἡχεῖν ὑπὸ βίας τοῦ πνεύματος.
σάπιγξ ὁ πρωκτός ἐστιν ἄρα τῶν ἐμπίδων.³

The scene in the play that apparently impressed itself most deeply on Browning's mind was the burning of the house of Socrates (*Nub.* 1484 sqq.) ; to this he refers (710a) :

Sokrates wants burning, house o'er head,

and again (710b) :

Did you wish
Hellas should haste, as taught, with torch in hand,
And fire the horrid Speculation-shop?

and finally (708a) with allusions to the two preceding plays :

'Tis Multitude, which, moved, fines Lamachos,
Banishes Kleon and burns Sokrates,
House over head, or, better, poisons him.

The lines in the parabasis of the play (537 sqq.) :

ὥς δὲ σῶφρων ἐστὶ φύσει σκέψασθ'· ἥτις πρῶτα μὲν
οὐδὲν ἦλθε ῥαψαμένη σκυτίον καθειμένον
ἐρυθρὸν ἐξ ἄκρου παχύ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἔν' ἧ γέλως,

¹ See also *Thes.* 272: *Ran.* 100 and 892.

² Compare 695b, "There are no gods, but there's 'Necessity.'"

³ Cf. 679a, "folk agape at either end," and *Nub.* 191 sqq.

are thus reproduced (710*b*) :

Me, who, the first have purged my every piece
From each and all my predecessor's filth,
Abjured those satyr-adjuncts sewn to bid
The boys laugh.

So, too, the words (681*a*) :

Gathered the tunic well about the ham,
Remembering 'twas soft sand they used for seat
At school-time, while — mark this — the lesson long,
No learner ever dared to cross his legs!
Then, if you bade him take the myrtle-bough
And sing for supper,

are reminiscent of *ibid.* 973 :

ἐν παιδοτρίβον δὲ καθίζοντας τὸν μηρὸν ἔδει προβαλέσθαι
τοὺς παῖδας, ὅπως τοῖς ἔξωθεν μηδὲν δείξειαν ἀπηνές·
εἴτ' αὖ πάλιν αὖθις ἀνιστάμενον συμψῆσαι, καὶ προνοεῖσθαι
εἰδῶλον τοῖσιν ἐρασταῖσιν τῆς ἡβης μὴ καταλείπειν,

and *ibid.* 983 :

οὐδ' ἴσχειν τὸ πόδ' ἐναλλάξ,

and *ibid.* 1364 :

ἔπειτα δ' ἐκέλευσ' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μυρρίνην λαβόντα
τῶν Αἰσχύλου λέξαι τί μοι.

The *Wasps*¹ is indicated in the lines (685*a*) :

Philokleon — better bear a wrong than plead,
Play the litigious fool to stuff the mouth
Of dikast with the due three-obol-fee!²

and (706*b*) :

You check the fretful litigation-itch,

and (709*a*) :

Wise folk leave litigation! 'ware the wasps!
Whoso loves law and lawyers, heliast-like,
Wants hemlock!

¹ The *Wasps* is mentioned by name 679*b*, 684*a*.

² For the "three-obol-fee" see e. g. *Wasps* 605 sqq., 690, 791.

and some of its scenes are sketched in the following passage (709 *a*) :

Philokleon turns Bdelukleon ! just this change, —
New sanity gets straightway drunk as sow,
Cheats baker-wives, brawls, kicks, cuffs, curses folk,
Parades a shameless flute-girl, bandies filth
With his own son who cured his father's cold
By making him catch fever — funnily !

The term "baker-wives" alludes to the scene between Bdelycleon and the ἀρτόπωλις (1388 sqq.), the "flute-girl" appears in 1342 sqq. and 1368 sqq., and the son cures his father's cold in 798 sqq., 1167. The lines (711 *b*) :

I renounce
Mountebank-claptrap, such as fire-work fizz
And torch flare, or else nuts and barley corns
Scattered among the crowd, to scramble for
And stop their mouths with,

may have been suggested by *Vesp.* 58.¹

The beetle and his rider Trygaeus that figure so prominently in the *Peace* are sufficient in themselves to indicate the play;² so in 685 *a* "Trugaïos," and in 675 *b* "beetles' armour." Allusion is made to the opening scene of this play in the words (673 *a*) :

Nor bustles any beetle of the brood
With trundled dung-ball meant to menace heaven.

Another scene is represented as follows (697 *a*) :

War and Hubbub mash
To mincemeat Fatherland and Brotherhood,
Pound in their mortar Hellas, State by State,
That greed might gorge. (*Pax* 255 sqq.)

In the mouth of Trygaeus is put the tale about the venality of Sophocles (683 *a*) :

An old tale
Put capitally by Trugaïos — eh ?
— News from the world of transformation strange !
How Sophokles is grown Simonides,
And, — aged, rotten, — all the same, for greed
Would venture on a hurdle out to sea !

¹ See above, p. 18. Compare also *Nub.* 543 sqq., *Pax* 962, and *Plut.* 798.

² Balaustion calls the play (712 *a*) :

Obscenity impregnated with "Peace."

which finds its counterpart in *Pax* 697 :

TPYT. ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.

EPM. Σιμωνίδης; πῶς;

TPYT. ὅτι γέρων ὦν καὶ σαπρὸς
κέρδους ἕκατι κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι.

The language in the lines (706*a*) :

Then was I first to change buffoonery
For wit, and stupid filth for cleanly sense,
Transforming pointless joke to purpose fine,
Transfusing rude enforcement of home-law —
'Drop knave's-tricks, deal more neighbour-like, ye boors!'

as Browning intimates (706*a* — "So mouths full many a famed Parabasis"), is indebted to a passage in the parabasis, *ibid.* 748:¹

τοιαῦτ' ἀφελὼν κακὰ καὶ φόρτον καὶ βωμολοχεύματ' ἀγεννῇ
ἐποίησε τέχνην μεγάλην ἡμῖν κἀπύργωσ' οἰκοδομήσας
ἔπεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ διανοίαις καὶ σκώμμασιν οὐκ ἀγοραίοις,
οὐκ ἰδιώτας ἀνθρωπίσκους κωμῳδῶν οὐδὲ γυναικάς.

But the chief end that this play serves in the *Apology* is to provide Aristophanes as well as Balaustion with arguments setting forth the advantages of peace. The constituent elements in the passage (708*a*) :

Peace, vintager and festive, cheesecake-time,
Hare-slice-and-peasoup-season, household joy:
Theoria's beautiful belongings² match
Opora's lavish condescendings,

seem to be all drawn from the play in question. The first two lines have their warrant in the long choral song (*Pax* 1127 sqq.) ; the third line is to be compared with *ibid.* 524 :

οἶον δ' ἔχεις τὸ πρόσωπον ὦ Θεωρία,
οἶον δὲ πνεῖς, ὡς ἡδὺ κατὰ τῆς καρδίας,
γλυκύτατον ὥσπερ ἀστρατείας καὶ μύρου,

¹ Cf. also the parabasis of the *Clouds*, 537 sqq.

² For this same phrase cf. 682*a* :

Murrhiné, Akalanthis, — "beautiful
Their whole belongings."

and the fourth with *ibid.* 709 :

ὦ φιλάτῳ δέῃρ' ἔλθῃ καὶ δός μοι κύσαι.
 ἄρ' ἂν βλαβῆναι διὰ χρόνον τί σοι δοκῶ
 ὦ δέσποθ' Ἑρμῇ τῆς Ὀπώρας¹ κατελάσας;

In another passage we find indebtedness to both the *Peace* and the *Acharnians* (692 b) :

Prefer the out of sight and in at mind,
 To village-joy, the well-side violet-patch,
 The jolly club-feast when our field's in soak,
 Roast thrushes, hare-soup, pea-soup, deep washed down
 With Peparethian; the prompt paying off
 That black-eyed brown-skinned country-flavoured wench
 We caught among our brushwood foraging:
 On these look fig-juice, curdle up life's cream.

These lines are in keeping with the subject-matter of the chorus (*Pax* 1127 sqq.) : the "well-side violet-patch" is an echo of the τῆς ἰωνιάς τε τῆς πρὸς τῷ φρέατι (*ibid.* 577) ; the third line of this passage is an obvious reminiscence of *ibid.* 1132, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πῦρ διέλκων μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἑταίρων φίλων, and 1148, ἐπειδὴ παρδακὸν τὸ χωρίον. The "black-eyed country wench" is a contribution of the *Acharnians* 272 :

κλέπτουσιν εὐρόνθ' ὠρικὴν ὑληφόρον
 τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θράτταν ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως,

and the last line of the quotation is borrowed from the *Peace* 1184, βλέπων ὀπόν.

The *Birds* pass under that name (680 a, 684 a, 688 b ; cf. "birds' wings," 675 b) and are alluded to in the person of one of its characters, Pisthetairos (685 a), and again in the lines (712 b) :

Zeus or Poseidon, where the vulgar sky
 Lacks not Triballo to complete the group.²

¹ Opōra, a *muta persona* in this play, appears elsewhere in the *Apology* as typifying the pleasures that peace bestows; thus (712 a), "I show Opōra to commend Sweet Home"; (712 b) :

have you made them end this war
 By dint of laughter and abuse and lies
 And postures of Opōra?
 and (742 a) :
 Theoria's beauty and Opōra's breadth.

² And perhaps in the words 667 b :

Quack-priest, sham-prophecy-retailer, scout
 O' the customs, sycophant—

with reference to the characters Ἱερεὺς, Χρησμολόγος, Ἐπίσκοπος, and Συκοφάντης.

The argument of the play is thus given in brief form (697*b*):

Spurn this Athenai as we find her, build
A new impossible Cloudcuckooburg
For feather-headed birds, once solid men,
Where rules, discarding jolly habitude,
Nourished on myrtle-berries and stray ants
King Tereus who, turned Hoopoe Triple-Crest,
Shall terrify and bring the gods to terms!

"Cloudcuckooburg" translates the Νεφελοκοκκυγία (*Av.* 821); *ibid.* 82, Trochilus informs Euelpides that his master's fare consists of μύρτα καὶ σέρφους τινάς, and the "Triple Crest" is to be found *ibid.* 94. The last line of the quotation alludes to the closing scene of the play. One of the characters, Cinesias, and his boast (*ibid.* 1373):

ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς ὄλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις

appear in the words of Aristophanes (702*b*):

I too can lead an airy life when dead,
Fly like Kinesias when I'm cloudward bound.¹

The *Lysistrata* was a play that Balaustion herself had seen and she records her impressions of its character (672*a*). She alludes to one scene towards the end of the play (672*a*):

to point the moral at the close
Poor Salabaccho, just to show how fair
Was "Reconciliation," stripped her charms,

in which Browning has borrowed the courtesan Salabaccho of the *Knights* (765) or the *Thesmophoriazusae* (805) and represents her as taking the part of "Reconciliation" in the *Lysistrata* (Διαλλαγή, 1114). So shocked were Balaustion's feelings by the obscenity of the play that she

did not go to see, nor then nor now,
The "Thesmophoriazousai" (672*b*),

¹ The words (694*a*):

'Till they 'scape
And scramble down to Leda, as a swan,
Europa, as a bull!

may have been suggested by the remark of Pithetaerus (*Av.* 558):

ὥσπερ πρότερον μοιχεύουσιν τὰς Ἀλκμήνας κατέβαινον
καὶ τὰς Ἀλόπας καὶ τὰς Σεμέλας.

but she did see the motley crowd of actors, chorus-members, and supernumeraries, whom the poet, flushed with wine, led to her house the day the *second* production of that play gained the prize. The appearance that the poet and his followers presented is thus depicted (674*a*) :

There trooped the Choros of the Comedy
Crowned and triumphant; first, those flushed Fifteen
Men that wore women's garb, grotesque disguise.
Then marched the Three, — who played Mnesilochos,
Who, Toxotes, and who, robed right, masked rare,
Monkeyed our Great and Dead to heart's content
That morning in Athenai.

At the head of this heterogeneous crew there moved one of the supernumeraries, Elaphion by name, who

Propped up my play at that important point
When Artamouxia tricks the Toxotes (675*b*).

This scene in Browning's imaginary reconstruction of the second *Thesmophoriazusae*¹ is based on vv. 1201 sqq. of the first and extant play of that name. Elaphion is the assistant of Euripides in the extant play and is named only in *Thes.* 1172, Ἐλάφιον, and she becomes one of the minor characters in Browning's fictitious play. Imitating *Thes.* 1172 and 1175, he calls her

Elaphion of the Persic dance (674*a*)
or

Elaphion more Peiraios-known as "Phaps" (674*b*),

and borrowing from the *Wasps* 1341, he dubs her elsewhere (675*b*) as "Chrusomelolonthion-Phaps."²

It is of interest to note what end the reconstruction of the second *Thesmophoriazusae* serves in the dramatic economy of the *Apology* and at the same time to perceive the freedom with which Browning modifies and interprets his sources.

As we shall see below (p. 41), he was acquainted with the fragments of the second *Thesmophoriazusae* and indeed had incorporated one of them in his poem. On the basis of this fragment he not only reconstructed a lost play but invented a new play and lent to both such

¹ Called (671*a*) "Female Celebrators of the Feast."

² The services of this same *éralpa* were called into requisition later, when the *Frogs* was produced (743*b*), "With Phaps-Elaphion and free-foot display," and dramatically does Browning conceive her leading the flute-girls in the dance for the Spartan conquerors of Athens (747*a*).

an air of plausibility that the uncritical reader is ready to accept his inventions as historical facts; so vivid are his conceptions and so realistic are his scenes. To concentrate his action in or near the year 406 B.C., the dramatic date of the *Apology*, he assumes that the first *Thesmophoriazusae* was produced in 407 B.C. (678*a*). Partly in answer to a demand of his fellow-citizens for a second play in the same year, and partly to overcome the disgust aroused in Euthycles by the grossness of the first play of this name, Aristophanes resolved to compose a new play along somewhat different lines. His purpose, he declares, was to purify the drama, to educate the taste "from customary dregs to draught divine." This intention he embodies in the new play, the *Grasshoppers*.¹ The account that Browning gives of this fictitious play is so elaborate and so circumstantial that one of the commentators on the *Apology* without hesitation and with due conviction annotates *Grasshoppers* as "a play of Aristophanes." One is often deceived and in doubt whether the character or incident has a foundation in fact or is merely fanciful. The play was produced at the Rural Dionysia in 407 B.C.

But did he also see, — your Euthukles, —
My 'Grasshoppers' which followed and failed too,
Three months since, at the 'Little-in-the-Fields'?

says Aristophanes (678*a*). Alcibiades seems to be the protagonist, playing the rôle of a doughty general and not that of the roué in the *Triphales* (680*b*):

Alcibiades,
No longer Triphales but Trilophos.

He persuades the Tettix

(our Autochthon-brood,
That sip the dew and sing on olive-branch
Above the ant-and-emmet populace)
To summon all who meadow, hill and dale
Inhabit — bee, wasp, woodlouse, dragonfly —
To band themselves against red nipper-nose
Stag beetle, huge Taügetan (you guess —
Sparté).

¹ The name is, perhaps, a reminiscence of *Eq.* 1331; cf. *Nub.* 984. Elsewhere in the *Apology* Browning conceives a similar attempt made in the first *Plutus* in 408 B.C., the year preceding the production of the first *Thesmophoriazusae*. See (684*a*) the passage beginning,

See the "Ploutos" here!
This step decides your foot from old to new.

The chorus takes up the tale (*ibid.*) and in strophe sings of the good old times, the golden epoch, and in antistrophe (681 *a*) of the blessings of Peace.¹ The parabasis is sketched in outline only, but it is in spirit very similar to that of the *Peace* (681 *a*) :

in that I also pushed reform.
None of the self-laudation, vulgar brag,
Vainglorious rivals cultivate so much !
No ! If some merest word in Art's defence
Justice demanded of me, — never fear !
Claim was preferred but dignifiedly.

And since no play is complete without satire, that too finds its place in the *Grasshoppers*. The wicked Aripkrades (of the *Knights*, the *Peace*, and the *Eccleziastusae*) is the mark against which our righteous poet directs his shafts. But in spite of its novelty, its virtues, and its purity, the *Grasshoppers* met defeat. For (681 *b*),

Ameipsias followed with the genuine stuff.
He had been mindful to engage the Four —
Karkinos and his dwarf-crab-family —
Father and sons, they whirled like spinning-tops,²
The skies re-echoed victory's acclaim.

This fictitious play of Amipsias, then, proved superior to the fictitious play of Aristophanes. The latter got, as he says (*ibid.*), his dose of wisdom for the future,

Purity?
No more of that next month, Athenai mine !
The Thesmophorizousai, smartened up
With certain plaits, shall please, I promise you !

and in the lines that follow he gives in summary fashion the plot of the second *Thesmophorizusae* and its divergences from the plot of the first, — the self-abnegation practised by the men, the shrewish wives of Euripides, and so on — and the final chorus is *Frag.* 334 Kock (Θεσμ. Δευτ.)

Rivals of mine, your hands to your faces !
Summon no more the Muses, the Graces,
Since here by my side they have chosen their places !³

¹ These choral songs comprise elements derived from extant plays, like the *Clouds*, the *Peace*, and the *Acharnians*, and have been considered above.

² Cf. *Pax* 790 and 864.

³ See page 41.

Nothing is said in this passage as to the character of the play; but the impression that it produced on Balaustion is indicated elsewhere (672 *b*):

Oh, this time
No more pretension to recondite worth!
No joke in aid of Peace, no demagogue
Pun-pelleted from Pnux, no kordax-dance
Overt helped covertly the Ancient Faith!
All now was muck, home-produce, honest man,
The author's soul secreted to a play
Which gained the prize the day we heard the death.

This marked contrast in subject-matter and in treatment between the *Grasshoppers*, his "pattern-purity," and the second *Thesmophoriazusae*, which Balaustion condemns for its indecencies serves this purpose, — it furnishes an adequate motive for the ensuing discussion between Aristophanes and Balaustion, the one defending his conception of comedy and the office it should discharge, the other denouncing the naturalism of comedy, particularly as practised by Aristophanes.

Of the *Frogs* we have summaries and comments made by both Aristophanes and Balaustion, the one from a prospective, the other from a retrospective point of view. The former in a long passage (701 *a*, beginning "in my very next of plays") dwells at length on the forthcoming play, its argument, and the lessons he wishes to enforce. He recurs to the same subject, after Balaustion's recital of the "Heracles," and declares (741 *b*):

Then "Main-Fight" be my next song, fairness' self!
It's subject — Contest for the Tragic Crown.
Ay, you shall hear none else but Aischulos
Lay down the law of Tragedy, etc.

The promise was kept, and Balaustion gives a detailed description of the play (743 *a*):

Then Aristophanes, on heel of that,¹
Triumphant also, followed with his "Frogs":
Produced at next Lenaia, — three months since, —
The promised Main-Fight.

¹ That is — the second *Thesmophoriazusae*.

Here and there in her account may be found, transferred from the play, words and expressions; thus "Chatterbox," an epithet applied to Euripides, is adapted from *Ran.* 1069 :

λαλιὰν ἐπιτηδεῦσαι καὶ στωμυλίαν ἐδίδαξας.

The designation of the tragic poet again as

the arch-rogue, liar, scamp
That lives by snatching-up of altar-orts,

is a translation of Aeschylus' words, *ibid.* 1520 :

ὁ πανοῦργος ἀνὴρ
καὶ ψευδολόγος καὶ βωμολόχος.

The three main facts which moved Bacchus to condemn Euripides :

First, — if you stick a "Lost his flask of oil"
At pause of period, you perplex the sense. —

Next, if you weigh two verses, "car" — the word
Will outweigh "club" — the word in each packed line!
And — last, worst fact of all! — in *ibid.* 1422
The younger poet dared to improvise
Laudation less distinct of — Triphiala,

are based on *Ran.* 1200 sqq., 1402-03, and 1422 sqq. And the words with which Balaustion closes her summary of the play (744a) :

These three main facts, well weighed, drew judgment down,
Conclusively assigned the wretch his fate —
"Fate due" admonished the sage Mystic choir,
"To sitting, prate-apace, with Sokrates,
Neglecting music and each tragic aid!"
— All wound up by a wish "We soon may cease
From certain griefs, and warfare, worst of them,"

are the words of the chorus, *ibid.* 1491 :

χαρίεν οὖν μὴ Σωκράτει
παρακαθήμενον λαλεῖν,
ἀποβαλόντα μουσικὴν
τά τε μέγιστα παραλιπόντα
τῆς τραγωδικῆς τέχνης,

and *ibid.* 1531 :

πάγχυ γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλων ἀχέων παυσαίμεθ' ἂν οὕτως
ἀργαλέων τ' ἐν ὅπλοις συνόδων.

One scene in the play, the trial of Dionysus and Xanthias before Aeacus to determine which is divine, and which human (*ibid.* 605 sqq.), is referred to in the passage (702 *a*), beginning

you'll see
My just judge only venture to decide
Between two suitors, which is god, which man.

The influence of *ibid.* 1314, εἰεἰεἰλίσσεται may be seen in the lines (687 *b*) :

And lo, the sweet psalterion, strung and screwed,
Whereon he tried those *le-é-é-és*
And *ke-é-é-és* and turns and trills,¹

and (681 *a*) :

To mincing music, turn, trill, tweedle-trash.

And finally, in verse 934 we have an apt illustration of the manner in which the English poet sometimes amplified his sources. In the early part of the *Apology* we read that others of the great besides Euripides had their censors. Pericles had his Hermippus, Phidias had his Cratinus, and Euripides had his Eryxis,

Eruxis — I suspect, Euripides,
No brow will ache because with mop and mow
He gibes my poet,

says Balaustion (668 *a*), and in another part of the poem (689 *a*), he is represented as

Dogface Eruxis, the small satirist, —
What better would the manikin desire
Than to strut forth on tiptoe, notable
As who, so far up, fouled me in the flank?

¹ See also *ibid.* 1347. The following line (687 *b*),

Aischulos' bronze-throat eagle-bark at blood,
may owe something to *ibid.* 929, γρυπαέτους χαλκηλάτους. And the passage (672 *a*),
Such outrage done the public — Phaidra named!
Such purpose to corrupt ingenuous youth,
Such insult cast on female character,

reminds one of *ibid.* 1043 and 1052 sqq. (cf. *Thes.* 547). Browning imagines the second edition of the *Frogs* to have been brought out in 404 B.C.; thus (744 *a*),

such fame had "Frogs" that, when came round
This present year, those Frogs croaked gay again. (Cf. *Arg. Ran.*)

Eryxis is a very uncommon name. It occurs only once in Aristophanes, *Ran.* 934 :

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Φιλοξέενον γ' ὄμην Ἐρυξιν εἶναι,

where Dionysus mistakes the ἱππαλεκτρύων for a likeness of Eryxis. We can perhaps infer that he was a man of extraordinary ugliness, but the scholiast (*ibid.* 934) explicitly so states; he describes Eryxis as αἴμορφος and ἀηδής. Here we have only a name and an epithet. Out of these as materials Browning constructs a human being, endows him with life, distinguishes him as physically ugly, and makes of him a satiric poet, a puny adversary of the great tragedian.

The *Ecclesiiazusae* appears once in a translated form, and allusion is made to the character of the play (704 b) :

And who has read your Lemnians, seen The Hours,
Heard Female-Playhouse-seat-Preoccupants,
May feel no worse effect than, once a year,
Those who leave decent vesture, dress in rags
And play the mendicant, conform thereby
To country's rite, and then, no beggar taint
Retained, don vesture due next morrow day.

Of the *Plutus* both productions are mentioned. The first is made by Euripides the text on which to base a homily (684 a and b) :¹

See the "Ploutos" here !
This step decides your foot from old to new —
Proves you relinquish song and dance and jest,
Discard the beast, and, rising from all fours,
Fain would paint, manlike, actual human life,
Make veritable men think, say and do.

Of the extant play, Aristophanes presents in summary fashion some of the scenes (701 b) :

my Play
Shall have up Hermes: and a Karion, slave,
(Since there's no getting lower) calls our friend
The profitable god, we honour so,

¹ In keeping with tradition (*Schol. Plut.* 173), Browning assigns 408 B.C. as the date of the production of the first *Plutus*.

Two years since, when I tried with "Ploutos,"
says Aristophanes (684 a); i. e. two years before the dramatic date of the *Apology*.

Bids him go earn more honest livelihood
 By washing tripe in well trough — wash he does —
 That temple-service trust me to describe —
 Cheaters and choused, the god, his brace of girls,
 Their snake, and how they manage to snap gifts
 ‘And consecrate the same into a bag.’

The epithet applied to Hermes, “the profitable god,” is probably suggested by the Ἑρμῇ παλιγκάπηλον of *Plut.* 1156, and the slave’s injunction to the god to “wash tripe in well trough” is taken from *ibid.* 1168:

καὶ πλυνέ γε
 αὐτὸς προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ φρέαρ τὰς κοιλίας,
 ἵν’ εὐθέως διακονικὸς εἶναι δοκῇς.

The temple-service, the god, his brace of girls, their snake, and their ability to appropriate gifts, have their warrant in *ibid.* 653 sqq. Compare especially vv. 681, 701, 702, and 733.¹

But in his search for materials Browning did not limit himself to the comedies; there are indisputable evidences of his familiarity with the fragments of lost plays. The Greek verse that stands at the head of the poem is Ar. *Frag.* 693 Kock:

οὐκ ἔσθω κενέβρειον· ὅταν θύσῃς τι, κάλει με,

which he translates:

I eat no carrion; when you sacrifice
 Some cleanly creature — call me for a slice!

a sentiment which represents concisely Balaustion’s attitude towards the animalism of the comedies. In the course of the *Apology*, there

¹ Browning’s indebtedness to the comedies is shown in other ways. He has drawn freely from that gallery of rogues, the butts of the comic poet’s satire, and in close dependence on his authority has imputed to them the same faults and vices for which they are distinguished in the plays. Such stock characters as Cleon, Socrates, Cleophon, Nicias, Lamachus, figure more or less prominently in the pages of the *Apology*; and others, types of human nature, are Glaucetes, the glutton (670^v, 691^v), Aripgrades, the obscene (681^b, 685^b, 707^b, 708^b, 712^a), Orestes, the robber (679^a), Carcinus and his family, the dancers (681^b), Theorus, the perjurer (694^a), Cleonymus, the coward (679^a, 685^b, 709^a), Melanthius, glutton and dramatist (679^a), and the characters in the lines (697^b) beginning, Of choosing Kleon that tans hide so well.

are mentioned these plays of Aristophanes preserved only in fragmentary form: the *Lemnians* and the *Hours* (704*b*), the *Banqueters* and the *Babylonians* (705*b*, 706*b*), the first *Plutus* (684*a*), the second *Thesmophoriazusae* (682*a*), the *Proagon* ("Prelude-Battle," 741*b*), and the *Triphales* (680*b* and 744*a*). One of the fragments of the second *Thesmophoriazusae* (*Fr.* 334):

μήτε Μούσας ἀνακαλεῖν ἐλικοβοστρύχους
μήτε Χάριτας βοᾶν εἰς χορὸν Ὀλυμπίας·
ἐνθάδε γάρ εἰσιν, ὥς φησιν ὁ διδάσκαλος,

becomes the final choral song in Browning's fictitious reconstruction of the play (682*a*).¹ Another of the fragments of this lost play may have brought to his notice that rare wine, mentioned only here in Aristophanes, the *Peparethian* (*Fr.* 317):

οἶνον δὲ πίνειν οὐκ ἐάσω Πράμνιον,
οὐ Χῖον, οὐδὲ Θάσιον, οὐ Πεπαρήθιον,
οὐδ' ἄλλον ὅστις ἐπεγερεῖ τὸν ἔμβολον.

Roast thrushes, hare-soup, pea-soup, deep washed down
With *Peparethian* (692*b*).

From the *Banqueters* (*Fr.* 241) he drew another unique word, *νεβλάρετοι*, which like trumpet-blast brings the *Apology* proper to a close (702*b*; cf. also 675*b*). The line (675*a*):

You've eaten cuckoo-apple? Dumb, you dogs?

repeats an Aristophanic phrase (*Fr.* 607):

τί τὸ κακόν; ἀλλ' ἦ κοκκύμηλ' ἡκρατίσω;

From the *Αἰολοσίκων* (*Fr.* 1, or from the *Γηρυτάδης*, *Fr.* 155) he borrowed *Thearion* the baker:

ἦκω Θεαρίωνος ἀρτοποιῶλιον
λιπών, ἔν' ἐστὶ κριβάνων ἐδώλια.

Thearion, now, my friend who bakes you bread,
What's worthier limning than his household life? (692*b*)

So the baker is provided by Browning with a son, who is the counterpart of Phidippides in the *Clouds*, and who buys "horseflesh branded

¹ See above, p. 35.

San" (*Nub.* 122; *Eq.* 603) from Menippus, a horse-trainer (*Av.* 1293 and *Schol. ad loc.*); also with a daughter, Kepphé by name,¹ who frequents the shop of the barber Sporgilus (*Av.* 300).

The name "Triphales" bestowed on Alcibiades (680*δ*):

Alcibiades,

No longer Triphales but Trilophos,

is derived from the name of a lost play (cf. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* I, p. 528, s.v. Τριφάλης); and from the Ἀδηλα Δράματα of Aristophanes are taken two judgments passed on Aeschylus and Euripides. The former is styled (743*δ*)

one stiff and gluey piece

Of back of swine's neck,

an amplification of the word κόλλοψ in *Fr.* 646:

οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν κόλλοπι εἰοικέναι.

The latter is characterized as one

twisting words like wool (743*δ*),

an expression based on *Fr.* 638:

καὶ στρεψίμαλλος τὴν τέχνην Εὐριπίδης.

As this fragment is derived directly from a scholium on *Ran.* 775, it is quite probable that Browning met with the expression in this source. For it is not an assumption too bold to make that Browning was acquainted with the Scholia and made use of them. There are verbal and material coincidences that cannot be wholly accidental, and it is quite in accord with his fondness for the recondite that he, widely read in Greek as he was, should have consulted sources so near at hand and so intimately connected with his subject. A man that dived in the lore of Paracelsus is not likely to stand aghast at the Scholia. But it may be objected that is impossible to prove beyond doubt whether Browning drew directly from these sources or found the same information in a more accessible form,—in the notes, perhaps, of modern scholars on the plays he was reading. The validity of this objection must be admitted. Yet whether or not there is justification for the statement that Browning was immediately indebted to the Scholia,

¹ Perhaps Browning found this name in *Plut.* 912; cf. *Schol. ad loc.*

there is at least warrant for saying that many a dark line in the *Apology* is illuminated by reference to these ancient notes to the plays of Aristophanes. Balaustion says (670a) :

No whit the worse did athlete touch the mark
And, at the turning-point, consign his scorn
O' the scorers to that final trilogy,
'Hupsipule,' 'Phoinissai,' and the Match
Of Life Contemplative with Active Life,
Zethos against Amphion.¹

But these three plays form no trilogy. The *Phoenissae* was produced with the *Oenomaus* and the *Chrysippus*. Browning seems to have misinterpreted the scholium on *Ran.* 53: διὰ τί δὲ μὴ ἄλλο τι τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλῶν, Ὑψιπύλλης, Φοινισσῶν, Ἀντιόπης; ἡ δὲ Ἀνδρομέδα ὀγδόῳ ἔτει προεισηλθεν. The scholiast expresses his surprise that Dionysus had not chosen instead of the *Andromeda*, which antedated the *Frogs* by eight years, one of these three plays which were produced shortly before the *Frogs*.

The mention of three other plays of Euripides in a scholium on *Ran.* 67: τελευτήσαντος Εὐριπίδου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δεδιδαχέναι ὁμώνυμον ἐν ᾧσται Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι, Ἀλκμαίωνα, Βάκχας, may have prompted Browning to write these lines (670b) :

Last the old hand on the old phorminx flung,
Clashed thence 'Alkaion,'² maddened 'Pentheus' up;
Then music sighed itself away, one moan
Iphigeneia made by Aulis' strand.

The character of the lost play, the *Proagon*, the fragments of which are so meagre as to preclude the formation of an opinion, is indicated in the *Schol. Vesp.* 61: οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ δράματι (i. e. the *Thesmophoriazusae*) εἰσῆκται οὕτως Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ Προαγῶνι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαρνέουσιν, and in the *Apology* we read (741b) :

Did 'Prelude-Battle' maul 'best friend' too much?

¹ (I. e. the *Antiope*). In another passage he calls the play by name (684b) :

I compete with you,
My last with your last, my *Antiope* —
Phoinissai — with this *Ploutos*?

and in 687b he alludes to the excellence of the play.

² A misprint for *Alkmaion*, generally perpetuated in the editions of Browning.

In *Ach.* 398, when Dicaeopolis asks whether Euripides is at home, he receives as answer,

ὁ νοῦς μὲν ἔξω συλλέγων ἐπύλλια
οὐκ ἔνδον, αὐτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ
τραγωδίαν.

This word ἀναβάδην is thus explained by the scholiast on this line, ἄνω τοὺς πόδας ἔχων ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τόπου καθήμενος. Hence these lines, which the scholium makes intelligible (680*a*) :

while, head low and heels in heaven,
He lay, let Comics laugh — for privilege,
and (695*b*) :
A-sitting with my legs up,
and *ibid.* :
When all's concocted upstairs, heels o'er head.

On the *Schol. Nub.* 96 two passages in our poem are apparently based. The scholium reads as follows: ἀφ' οὗ στοχαζόμενοί τινες φασιν ὅτι μηδεμίας ἔχθρας χάριν Ἀριστοφάνης ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Νεφέλων ποίησιν, ὅς γε μήτε ἰδιόν τι μήτε ἀρμόττον, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρὸς ἓν ἔγκλημα ἦλθε Σωκράτους. . . . τὸ μὲν κοινὸν τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀπάντων ἐπήγαγεν ἔγκλημα . . . οἱ δ' ὅτι ὁλόκληρον εἰς αὐτὸν [i. e. Socrates] συνέταξε [i. e. Aristophanes] δρᾶμα, ὃ δι' ἔχθραν νομίζουσιν αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται. . . . ἔπειτα Εὐπολις, εἰ καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ἐμνήσθη Σωκράτους, μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν ὅλαις ταῖς Νεφέλαις αὐτοῦ καθήψατο. οὐδὲν δὲ χεῖρον ὑπομνησθῆναι τῶν Εὐπόλιδος “δεξάμενος δὲ Σωκράτης τὴν ἐπίδειξιν Στησιχόρου οἰνοχόην ἔκλεψεν.” And Browning (691*b*) :

. . . I attacked . . .
Sokrates? No, but that pernicious seed
Of sophists, etc.,
and (711*b*) :
Eupolis exposed
“That prating beggar, he who stole the cup,”
Before your “Clouds” rained grime on Sokrates,
and again (700*a*) :
Sokrates I nickname thief,
and lastly (710*a*) :

Fears ‘Sokrates’ may prove unseaworthy
(That’s merely — ‘Sophists are the bane of boys’)
Rat-riddled (‘they are capable of theft’).

The decree and its provisions mentioned in *Schol. Eccl.* 22: ὁ δὲ Σφυρόμαχος ψήφισμα εἰσηγήσατο, ὥστε τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας χωρὶς καθέζεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας χωρὶς τῶν ἐλευθέρων, are thus reproduced in the "Apology" (672 a):

Phuromachos' decree provides
The sex may sit discreetly, witness all,
Sorted, the good with good, the gay with gay,
Themselves unseen, no need to force a blush.

Allusion is made to other decrees in the course of the poem. The sentiment of 679 b:

When Archons pleased to lay down each his law, —
Your Morucheides — Surakosios sort, —
Each season, 'No more naming citizens,
Only abuse the vice, the vicious spare!

is the sentiment of the *Schol. Ach.* 67: ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος: οὗτος ὁ ἄρχων, ἐφ' οὗ κατελύθη τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωμωδεῖν, γραφὲν ἐπὶ Μορυχίδου (cf. also *Schol. Ach.* 1150), and the *Schol. Av.* 1297: Συρακοσίῳ δὲ κίττα: . . . δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα τεθεικέναι μὴ κωμωδεῖσθαι ὀνομαστί τινα. It is to be noticed that Morychides does not appear in the extant works of Aristophanes. The archon Euthymenes is explicitly named in 711 b:

'tis still Moruchides,
'Tis Euthymenes, Surakosios,

and the decree is hinted at in 692 a:

No naming names in Comedy.

Other legislation affecting adversely the interests of the comic poets is instanced in the passage (676 a):

Archinos and Agurrhios, scrape your flint,
Flay your dead dog, and curry favour so,¹

with which compare the *Schol. Ran.* 367: τοῦτο εἰς Ἀρχίνον. μήποτε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀγύρριον. μέμνηται δὲ τούτων καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Σκευαῖς καὶ Σαννυρίων ἐν Δανάῃ. οὗτοι γὰρ προιστάμενοι τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης τὸν μισθὸν τῶν κωμωδῶν ἐμείωσαν κωμωδηθέντες, and the *Schol. Eccl.*

¹ Agyrrius is named (711 b) along with Moruchides, Euthymenes, and Syracosius.

102: ὁ Ἀγύρριος στρατηγὸς θηλυδριώδης, ἄρξας ἐν Λέσβῳ. καὶ τὸν μισθὸν δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν συνένεμε.¹ And verses like the following may

¹ With some hesitancy I offer the following scholia. If they are not the ultimate sources, some at least are helpful in explaining expressions in the *Apology*, which without this aid are quite unintelligible. Thus, the cryptic phrase "pour bull's blood" in the line (694*b*):

Pound hemlock and pour bull's blood,

is elucidated in *Schol. Eq.* 83: δηλητήριον λέγεται τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ταύρου πινόμενον. The line (672*a*):

Waves, said to wash pollution from the world,

may have been suggested by *Plut.* 656 and the *Schol. ad loc.*, ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤγομεν: εἴθιστο γὰρ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐκεῖ καθαίρειν τοὺς ἀφωσιωμένους. (Cf. *Eur. Iph. Taur.* 1193.) Sporgilus, who is mentioned only in the *Birds* 300, and there by name merely, is called the barber in *Schol. ad loc.* So in the *Apology* (692*b*),

the shop of Sporgilos the barber.

Leogoras, in the *Clouds* 109, is styled a keeper of φασιανοί (pheasants?), but the sentiment of the line (671*a*),

Against Leogoras' blood-mare koppa-marked,

is found in the *Scholium ad loc.*, ἄδηλον δὲ εἰ καὶ ὄρνεα ἔτρεφεν ὁ Λεωγόρας. ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα τῶν ἵπποτροφησάντων Ἀθήνησιν. The greed of Simonides that the scholiast on *Pax* 697 instances, Σιμωνίδης δοκεῖ πρῶτος σμικρολογίαν εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὰ ἄσματα καὶ γράψαι ἄσμα μισθοῦ, is recorded in the phrase (683*a*),

Sophokles is grown Simonides.

The allusion in the line (668*a*):

Kratinos to swear Pheidias robbed a shrine,

is possibly suggested by the *Scholl. Nub.* 859, and *Pax* 605 (cf. *Plut. Per.* c. 31). The "Phaedras, Auges, Kanakes" (681*a*) mentioned as types of debased womanhood are named in the *Scholl. Nub.* 1371, *Ran.* 849 and 1080; though Phaedra is mentioned several times in the plays, Canace and Auge appear only in the Scholia.

There are, furthermore, historical common-places which may have suggested themselves to Browning's notice by his reading of the scholia. The passage (694*b*),

prove Plataian help,

Turn out, a thousand strong,

may be compared with *Schol. Eq.* 781, μόνων Πλαταιέων συμμαχησάντων αὐτοῖς χίλοις ἀνδράσι, κ.τ.λ. Cleophon's

refusing peace, though Sparté cede

Even Dekeleia, (679*a*)

may be set beside the *Schol. Kan.* 1532, παρόσον, ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀργινούσαις ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλομένων ἐκ Δεκελείας ἀπιέναι ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἑκάτεροι καὶ εἰρήνην ἀγειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου, Κλεοφῶν ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον μὴ

be based not only on the Aristophanic lines but on the accompanying scholia. Says Aristophanes (680*a*) :

Needs must we nick expenditure, allow
Comedy half a choros, supper — none,
Times being hard, while applicants increase
For, what costs cash, the Tragic Trilogy,

and again (675 b) :

The Archon's cry creaks, creaks, 'Curtail expense!
The war wants money, year the twenty-sixth!
Cut down our Choros number, clip costume,
any cost but Comedy's!
'No Choros' — soon will follow,

and (692 *a*) :

'Don't throw away hard cash,' supplies a third,
'But crib from actor's dresses, choros-treats !'

προσδέξασθαι, κ.τ.λ. Decelea is not mentioned in the text of the comedies. The account of the battle of Arginusae, to which allusion is made in the *Frogs* 690-705, is told in the *Scholl. Ran.* 191 and 698. So in the *Apology* (670*b*), "How all the captains," etc. The story of the tear-compelling drama of Phrynichus is told not only by Hdt. 6, 21, but by the *Schol. Vesp.* 1490, on which the lines (668*b*):

Still — since Phrunichos
Offended, by too premature a touch
Of that Milesian smart-place freshly frayed,

may be based.

The expression (675 *a*):

rose-glow enriched

By the Isle's unguent,

may owe something to the *Schol. Lys.* 944, 'Ρόδιον δὲ μύρον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρόδου. The line (677*b*), "He (Susarion) battered with a big Megaric stone" may be paraphrased from *Schol. Vesp.* 58, Μεγαρόθεν: ἥ ὡς ποιητῶν ὄντων τινῶν ἀπὸ Μεγαρίδος ἀμούσων, καὶ ἀφυῶς σκαπτόντων, ἥ ὡς τῶν Μεγαρέων γελώντων καὶ ἄλλως φορτικῶς γελοιαζόντων. Compare (692*b*), "O Muse of Megara!"

For the expressions, "shadow of an ass" (670*a*); "they boil a stone" (702*b*); "three cuckoos who cry cuckoo" (702*b*); and "get you the goat's breakfast (675*b*), consult respectively the Scholia on *Vesp.* 191, *Vesp.* 279, *Av.* 507, and *Plut.* 295. Reference to the Scholia on *Eq.* 85 and *Nub.* 984 throws light on these passages (684*b*):

crowned

The parting cup, — 'To the Good Genius, then !'

and (672b):

when citizens

Like Aristeides and like Miltiades

Wore each a golden tettix in his hair.

Now in the *Acharnians* (1150) the chorus complains :

Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος τὸν ξυγγραφῇ τῶν μελέων ποιητὴν,
ὥς μὲν ἀπλῶ λόγῳ, κακῶς ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς·
ὅς γ' ἐμὲ τὸν τλήμονα λήναια χορηγῶν ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον.

and under the lemma Ἀντίμαχον the scholiast remarks : φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν γράφαι ψήφισμα ὥστε τοὺς χοροὺς μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν χορηγῶν λαμβάνειν. . . . ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος οὗτος ψήφισμα πεποιηκέναι μὴ δεῖν κωμῶδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οὐ προσῆλθον ληψόμενοι τὸν χορὸν, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν χορευτῶν ἐπείνων. ἐχορήγει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος τότε ὅτε εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα. οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ποιητὴς ὢν καλὸς χορηγῶν ποτε μικρολόγως τοῖς χορευταῖς ἐχρήσατο. Of a somewhat similar purport is the scholium on the *Frogs* 404 : ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι σύνδνο ἐδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμωδοῖς· ὥστε ἦν τις καὶ περὶ τὸ Ληναικὸν συστολή· χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καθάπαξ τὰς χορηγίας περιεῖλε Κινησίας. See also the scholium on *Ach.* 886, ἐσιτοῦντο γὰρ οἱ χορευταὶ δημοσίᾳ, and *Schol. Ran.* 367 (quoted on p. 45).

It is but a short step from the Scholia to the Arguments to the various plays. These could hardly have escaped the eyes of Browning. When Balaustion declares (711*a*) that Cratinus·

beat, next year, —

“Bottle” and dregs — your best of “Clouds” and dew!

and again (711*b*) :

What beat “Clouds” but “Konnos,” muck for mud?

she merely paraphrases the argument to the *Clouds* (Arg. V), αἱ πρῶται Νεφέλαι ἐδιδάχθησαν ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἰσάρχου, ὅτε Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐνίκα Πυτίνῃ, Ἀμειψίας δὲ Κόννῳ. Again the passage (679*b*) :

Two plays a season is your pledge, beside;

So, give us ‘Wasps’ again, grown hornets now!

seems to owe something to the argument to the *Wasps* : ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀμεινίου διὰ Φιλωνίδου ἐν τῇ πθ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. δεύτερος ἦν, εἰς Λήναια. καὶ ἐνίκα πρῶτος Φιλωνίδης Προαγῶνι, Λεύκων Πρέσβεσι τρίτος : for it was in the name of Philonides that Aristophanes brought out the *Proagon*, though it is to be remembered that the *Lysistrata*

and the *Thesmophoriazusae* were produced in the year 411 B.C. And in the line (712 a),

From that boy's-triumph when "Acharnes" dawned,

we may have an elaboration of the *καὶ πρῶτος ἦν* of the argument to the *Archanians*.

Of the Ancient Lives of Aristophanes, one (XI in Dübner's edition of the *Scholia*) proved a model that the English poet manifestly followed. The major part of it is reproduced in the *Apology* in one place or another. We may recognize in the passage (676 a),

Save but my acting, and the baldhead bard
Kudathenaian and Pandionid,
Son of Philippos, Aristophanes,

the opening lines of this Life (cf. also *Vita* XV): Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδοποιὸς πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Φιλίππου, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δῆμων Κυδαθηναίεϋς, Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς. The words just quoted "save but my acting" may be a reminiscence of the statement in the *Life* (v. 21) that in his play of the *Knights*, δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ὑπεκρίνατο. Early in his career Aristophanes produced his plays

Safe crouched behind a name
Philonides or else Kallistratos (711 b);

these words may owe something to the τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ Φιλωνίδου καθίει δράματα (*ibid.* v. 11; cf. *Schol. Vespr.* 1018). The phrase (679 b) "Wine-lees-poet" has its prototype in the αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον μίλτω χρίσας (*ibid.* v. 22).¹ The good opinion in which Aristophanes was held by his fellow-citizens (679 a):

O happy-maker, when her cries increase
About the favourite,²

reflects the statement (*ibid.* v. 46), μάλιστα δὲ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἡγαπήθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν σφόδρα, and (*ibid.* v. 51), τούτου οὖν χάριν ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐστεφανώθη θαλλῷ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας. The animosity that arose between Cleon and the comic poet and resulted in the γραφὴ ξενίας

¹ Cf. *Schol. Eq.* 230: αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης μιλτώσας ἑαυτὸν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἥ τη τρογίᾳ χρίσας ἑαυτόν.

² So (678 b) the words, "our love, our pride," and (670 b) the term, "their favourite."

brought by the demagogue is recorded not only in the plays,¹ but also in the *Life*. On the following passage (*ibid.* v. 27), διήχθρευσεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης, ἐπειδὴ ξενίας κατ' αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ἔθετο, καὶ ὅτι ἐν δράματι αὐτοῦ Βαβυλωνίοις διέβαλε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς κληρωτὰς ἀρχὰς, παρόντων ξένων. ὥς ξένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἔλεγε παρόσον οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν φασιν εἶναι Ῥόδιον ἀπὸ Λίνδου, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινήτην, κ.τ.λ., are apparently based these lines in the *Apology*:

Then Kleon did his best to bully me:
Called me before the Law Court: 'Such a play
Satirized citizens with strangers there,
Such other,' — why, its fault was in myself!
I was, this time, the stranger, privileged
To act no play at all, — Egyptian, I —
Rhodian or Kameirensian, Aiginete,
Lindian or any foreigner he liked.² (692a)

An obvious reminiscence of the words in the *Life* (v. 59), φασὶ δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα Διονυσίῳ τῷ τυράνῳ βουλευθέντι μαθεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείαν πέμψαι τὴν Ἀριστοφάνους ποιήσιν καὶ συμβουλευσαί τὰ δράματα αὐτοῦ ἀσκηθέντα μαθεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν πολιτείαν, meets the reader in the language of Balaustion (710b):

Platon — so others call the youth we love, —
Sends your performance to the curious king —
Do you desire to know Athenai's knack
At turning seriousness to pleasantry?
Read this! One Aristullos means myself.

Browning thus accepts the identification of Aristyllus with Plato,³ as may be evidenced from other passages in the *Apology*, in which Socrates and Plato appear closely associated. So in (682b):

Sokrates a-passing by,
A-peering in for Aristullos' sake,
To put a question touching Comic Law,

¹ *Ach.* 377-382; 502; *Vesp.* 1284; see also the Scholia on *Ach.* 378 and *Vesp.* 1291.

² Compare also *Vita* XIV, Ἀριστοφάνης, Ῥόδιος, ἦτοι Λίνδιος· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιον ἔφασαν· οἱ δὲ Καμειρέα, and *Scholl. Ach.* 654 and *Nub.* 272. Passages of similar purport may be found 709b, 710b.

³ See *Ar. Frag.* 538 Kock, and Kock's comment, "unde Bergkii et Meinekii I, 287 sq. *Platonem* Aristylli nomine significari existimant . . . atque etiam Ecclesiastiarum (647) et Pluti (314) Aristyllum Platonem interpretantur."

and in (696*b*):

Till Sokrates winked, whispered: out it broke!
And Aristullos jotted down the jest.¹

When at the close of his defence Aristophanes bids Balaustion (702*b*),

Fancy yourself my Aristonumos,
Ameipsias or Sannurion: punch and pound!

Browning must have had in mind the words in the *Life* (XI, v. 12) διὰ καὶ ἔσκωπτον αὐτὸν Ἀριστώνυμος τε καὶ Ἀμειψίας and (*Vita* XIII, v. 9) Ἀριστώνυμος δ' ἐν Ἡλίῳ ῥιγοῦντι καὶ Σαννυρίων ἐν Γέλῳ τετράδι φασὶν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, διότι τὸν βίον κατέτριψεν ἐτέροις πονῶν (i. e. in producing plays under the names of Philonides and Callistratus).²

¹ Cf. also 699*b* and 708*b*. In 700*a*, where Aristyllus is described as

Male Kirké who bewitches and bewrays
And changes folk to swine,

the influence of *Plut.* 309 sqq. may be clearly seen:

οὐκοῦν σε τὴν Κίρκην γε τὴν τὰ φάρμακ' ἀνακνῶσαν
καὶ μαγγανεύουσαν μολύνουσάν τε τοὺς ἑταίρους

σὺ δ' Ἀρίστυλλος ὑποχάσκων ἑρεῖς,
ἔπεσθε μητρὶ χόϊροι.

The epithet "mint-perfumed," applied to this same character (702*b*), recalls *Ecc.* 647:

ΠΡΑΞ. εἴ σε φιλήσειεν Ἀρίστυλλος φάσκων αὐτοῦ πατέρ' εἶναι.

ΒΛΕΠ. οἰμῶζοι τᾶν καὶ κωκύοι.

ΠΡΑΞ. σὺ δέ γ' ὄξοις ἂν καλαμίνθης,

and finally in Browning's reconstructed *Thesmophoriazusae* Aristophanes is represented as saying (682*a*):

I had a hit at Aristullos here,
His plan how womankind should rule the roast,

and in these words there is an allusion to the *Ecclesiiazusae* and a manifest travesty of Plato and his *Republic*.

² In this same *Life* are two other passages worthy of mention. There is the well-known decree μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν τινα (v. 66), translated (692*a*) by the words "No naming names in Comedy," and again (676*a*) "No calling naughty people by their names." And secondly, the boast of Aristophanes (706*a*):

Then was I first to change buffoonery
For wit, and stupid filth for cleanly sense,
Transforming pointless joke to purpose fine,

reproduces the spirit of the language of the *Life* (v. 3): ὁς πρῶτος δοκεῖ τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἔτι πλανωμένην τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγωγῇ ἐπὶ τὸ χρησιμώτερον καὶ σεμνότερον μεταγαγεῖν. But see p. 30.

Together with these ancient *Lives* of Aristophanes there are found, grouped under the name of *Prolegomena* in the Dübner edition of the *Scholia* to Aristophanes, short treatises on the origin of Comedy and the poets of the old Attic Comedy in particular. That Browning was acquainted with them and influenced by them is attested by his own exposition of the beginning of comedy, which reproduces the spirit and the tone of two or three of the chapters *περὶ κωμωδίας*. The long passage (690*b*), beginning "I'll prove our institution, comedy," in which Aristophanes sketches the origin and the development of comedy, should be compared with the treatises *περὶ κωμωδίας* I, IX*a*, and IX*b* (Dübner).¹ In particular, these instances in which the connection between the *Prolegomena* and the *Apology* seems more or less direct may be adduced. Aristophanes says (690*b*) :

Heaven joined with earth for that god's day at least,
Renewed man's privilege, grown obsolete,
Of telling truth nor dreading punishment.
Whereon the joyous band disguised their forms
With skins, beast-fashion, daubed each phyz with dregs.
Then hollaed 'Neighbour, you are fool, you — knave,
You — hard to serve, you — stingy to reward !'
The guiltless crowed, the guilty sunk their crest,
And good folk gained thereby, 'twas evident,

or in a slightly different version (679*b*) :

Graced with traditional immunity
Ever since, much about my grandsire's time,
Some funny village-man in Megara,
Lout-lord and clown-king, used a privilege,
As due religious drinking-bouts came round,
To daub his phyz, — no, that was afterward, —
He merely mounted cart with mates of choice
And traversed country, taking house by house,
At night, — because of danger in the freak, —
Then hollaed 'Skin-flint starves his labourers !
Clench-fist stows figs away, cheats government !
Such an one likes to kiss his neighbour's wife,
And beat his own; while such another . . . Boh !'
Soon came the broad day, circumstantial tale,
Dancing and verse, and there's our Comedy.

¹ See also pp. 679*b* and 705*b*.

In the *Prolegomena*, IX*b*, v. 16, we read: ἐφευρέθη δὲ ἡ κωμῳδία, ἃς φασιν, ἐκ τινος τοιαύτης αἰτίας. βλαπτόμενοί τινες γεωργοὶ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, καὶ θέλοντες ἐλέγχειν αὐτοὺς, κατήεσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ καθεύδειν περιύοντες περὶ τὰς ἀγυῖας ἔλεγον ἀνωνυμεῖ τὰς βλάβας, ἃς ἔπασχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ἵνα δὲ σαφέστερον εἴπωμεν, τοιαῦτά τινα ἐβόων, “ἐνταῦθα μένει τις τάδε καὶ τάδε τισὶ ποιῶν τῶν γεωργῶν, καὶ οὐ μετρίας βλάβας ἐπιφέρων αὐτοῖς.” ὥστε τοὺς γειτνιῶντας ἀκούοντας ἡμέρας γενομένης πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγειν ἅτινα νύκτωρ παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἤκουσαν. ἐπονείδιστον δὲ ἦν τῷ ἀδικοῦντι. τὸν δὲ ἐμφανιζόμενον τοῖς τῆς πόλεως, αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ παύεσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀδικίας. τούτοις πολλάκις παρακολουθήσαντες ἄλλοι πολλοὺς τῶν ἀδικούντων ἀνέστειλαν. ὅθεν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἔδοξεν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γεγονέναι τὸ ἐγχείρημα τῶν κωμικῶν, κ.τ.λ., and in *Prolegomena* I, v. 7: τῆς ἰσηγορίας οὖν πᾶσιν ὑπαρχούσης ἄδειαν οἱ τὰς κωμῳδίας συγγράφοντες εἶχον σκώπτειν καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ δικαστὰς τοὺς κακῶς δικάζοντας καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τινὰς ἢ φιλαργύρους ἢ συζῶντας ἀσελγεία. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος, ὡς εἶπον, τὸν φόβον ἐξήρει τῶν κωμωδούντων, φιλοτιμῶς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους βλασφημούντων ἀκούων. The expression (680*a*):

No sign of wincing at my Comic lash

is curiously like the words (*Proleg.* IX*a*, p. xviii, v. 89) καὶ ὥσπερ δημοσίᾳ μάστιγι τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ κολάζων; and the passage (679*b*),

When Archons pleased to lay down each his law

“No more naming citizens,

Only abuse the vice, the vicious spare!”

recalls the language of the *Proleg.* IX*b*, p. xxi, v. 55: οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον οἱ ἄρχοντες Ἀθήνησιν ἤρξαντο κωλύειν τοὺς κωμικοὺς τοῦ μὴ φανερώς οὕτω καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἐλέγχειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας . . . ἔτι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον προιούσης καὶ ἐπικρατούσης τῆς κακίας, ἐκωλύθησαν τοῦ καὶ αἰνιγματωδῶς ἐλέγχειν καὶ ὑβρίζειν τοὺς κρατοῦντας καὶ ἄρχοντας τῆς πόλεως. The complaint of Aristophanes (675*b*):

The Archon's cry creaks, creaks, ‘Curtil expense!’

The war wants money, year the twenty-sixth!

Cut down our Choros number, clip costume,

‘No Choros’ — soon will follow,

may be adapted from *Proleg.* I, v. 28: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προθυμίαν εἶχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χορηγοὺς τοὺς τὰς δαπάνας τοῖς χορευταῖς παρέχοντας χειροτονεῖν. τὸν γοῦν Αἰολοσίκωνα Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ὃς οὐκ ἔχει τὰ χορικὰ μέλη. τῶν γὰρ χορηγῶν μὴ χειροτονουμένων καὶ τῶν χορευτῶν οὐκ ἐχόντων τὰς τροφὰς ὑπεξηρέθη τῆς κωμωδίας τὰ χορικὰ μέλη καὶ τῶν ὑποθέσεων ὁ τρόπος μετεβλήθη. But see p. 47. And when Euripides briefly characterizes the *Plutus* (684*a*),

See the "Ploutos" here!

This step decides your foot from old to new —
Proves you relinquish song and dance and jest,

his language recalls the words of *Proleg.* V, v. 27: καὶ γὰρ τὸ τούτου δρᾶμα ὁ Πλούτος νεωτερίζει κατὰ τὸ πλάσμα· τήν τε γὰρ ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἔχει καὶ χορῶν ἐστέρηται, ὅπερ τῆς νεωτέρας ὑπῆρχε κωμωδίας. And finally, Aristophanes' description of himself as

quite a match
In elegance for Eupolis himself,
Yet pungent as Kratinos at his best (679*b*; cf. 711*b*),

bears a striking verbal resemblance to the language of *Proleg.* II, v. 20: οὔτε γὰρ πικρὸς λίαν ἐστίν (i. e. Aristophanes) ὥσπερ ὁ Κρατῖνος, οὔτε χαρίεις ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐπολις, ἀλλ' ἔχει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ Κρατίνου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιτρεχούσης χάριτος Εὐπόλιδος.¹

¹ Nearly all of the predecessors and contemporaries of Aristophanes in the field of comedy are presented in the pages of the *Apology*. The curious may find pleasure in referring to the following: Susarion (677*b*; 691*a*; 704*a*; 705*b*); Chionides (678*a*; 705*b*); Magnes (711*b*); Cratinus (676*a et passim*); Crates, Hegemon, Pherecrates, Archippus (711*b*); Teleclides (679*b*, 711*b*), Myrtilus, Myllus, and Euetes (679*b*); Eupolis (679*b et passim*); Strattis (682*b*, 683*a*, 684*b*); Hermippus (668*a*, 679*b*, 711*b*); Callistratus and Philonides (683*b*, 711*b*); Plato (671*a*); Amipsias (678*b*, 702*b*); Sannyrio and Aristonymus (702*b*). Even those fictitious poets, Myllus and Euetes, appear as historical beings to Browning.

There's Mullos, there's Euetes, there's the stock
I shall be proud to graft my powers upon,

says Aristophanes (679*b*). And can it be that Euthycles, that obscure comic poet, gave his name to the husband of Balaustion? It is a reasonable conjecture that Browning's knowledge of them was first-hand, and quite probably derived from Meineke's *Comici Graeci*. The literary judgments that Browning passes on the poets of the Old Comedy are not always, if ever, haphazard and may owe their origin to Meineke's account of them in the introductory pages of his first volume: e. g. of

The other character that bulks so large in the *Apology* is Euripides. There is abundant evidence to prove that Browning was as familiar with Attic tragedy as he was with Attic comedy. Euripides he had made his own. Aside from his translations of the *Alcestis* and the *Heracles*, we find references to more than half of the extant plays and to several of the lost plays.¹ But it is not the plays nor the fragments that proved

Myllus and Euetes (see above) Meineke says (I, p. 26): "fabulas . . . Athenis docuere Euetes, Euxenides, et Myllus"; of Hegemon (I, p. 214): "maiores tamen ille e Parodiis, quas plurimas scripsit, consecutus est gloriam"; and in the *Apology* (711b), Balaustion declares that "Hegemon parodied"; and for the line (668a),

Some new Hermippus to pelt Perikles,

compare Meineke, *ibid.* I, p. 91. When Euthycles asks the comic poet Plato (671b):

Did not you write 'The Festivals'?

You best know what dog tore him alive,

can it be that Browning had in mind fragment 30 (Kock) of the *Eopral*,

εὖ γέ σοι γένοιθ', ὅτι

ἔσῳσας ἐκ τῶν σῶγμα τῶν Εὐριπίδου?

At least, no other fragment of the lost play bears on Euripides. The line (711b):

Magnes invented "Birds" and "Frogs" enough,

may have been suggested by *Eq.* 522; and what Balaustion predicates of Crates (711b),

Krates could teach and practise festive song

Yet scorn scurrility,

may be an echo of *Eq.* 537. The passage relative to Cratinus and his play, the *Πυρρίνη* (676a), may be developed from *Pax* 700 sqq. and the *Scholium ad v. 702* (cf. also *Schol. Eq.* 531).

¹ Of the extant plays there are mentioned by name or by allusion the *Electra* (688a),

To him who made *Electra*, in the act

Of wreaking vengeance on her worst of foes,

Scruple to blame,

(with which compare *Electra*, vv. 900 sqq.) and (745b):

Daughter of Agamemnon, late my liege,

Elektra, palaced once, a visitant

To thy poor rustic dwelling, now I come,

(a translation of *Electra*, vv. 167 sqq.; scenes from this play are outlined in 746a); the *Heracleidae* (668a):

Or didst thou sigh

Rightly with thy Makaria? "After life

Better no sentiency than turbulence;

Death cures the low contention,"

so rich a quarry as the various ancient *Lives* of Euripides. This repository of idle gossip, circulated by detractors of the tragic poet's genius, furnished Browning with material the true value of which he was not slow to recognize. Almost every scrap of information contained within them he has utilized in one way or another. For example: with the report of the death of Euripides, which reached Athens the day the second *Thesmophoriazusae* gained the victory, spread also tag-ends of gossip touching Euripides' manner of life at the court of Archelaus and his death, and Euthycles, "the bard's own intimate," is pelted by those whom he meets in the streets with questions as to the truth or falsity of these rumors. With dramatic fitness does Browning put this gossip into the mouths of the Athenian populace. One asks Euthycles (671 a):

"Dead, yes, but how dead, may acquaintance know?
You were the couple constant at his cave:
Tell us now, is it true that women, moved
By reason of his liking Krateros . . ."

(a paraphrase of *Heracl.* 593 sqq.); the *Suppliants* (699 b):

"do not I
In Suppliants, make my Theseus, — yours, no more, —
Fire up at insult of who styles him King?
Play off that Herald, I despise the most,
As patronizing kings' prerogative
Against a Theseus proud to dare no step
Till he consult the people?"

(cf. *Supplic.* 409-455); the *Heracles*, translated (713 b sqq.) and the plot outlined (673 b); the *Alcestis* (669 a, 673 a, 698 b); the *Bacchae* (669 a, 741 b); the *Medea* (668 b, 683 a, 705 b); the *Hippolytus* (672 a, 685 b); the *Phoenissae* (684 b); the *Iphigenia in Aulis* (670 b); and the *Rhesus* (740 a).

Of the lost plays the *Cresphontes* is represented by Fragment 453 Nauck, which sounds the praises of Peace and is translated by Browning with fidelity (706 b; see also 669 a). The *Hypsipyle* is named (670 a) and allusion made to the *Antiope* in the words,

the Match
Of Life Contemplative with Active Life,
Zethos against Amphion.

The latter play is designated by name (684 b and 687 b). The *Pentheus* and the *Alkaion* (sic) are named (670 b), as well as the *Erechtheus* (697 a), the *Bellerophon* (685 b), and the *Andromeda* (669 a).

The jeer is cut short by the indignant Euthycles. From the *Life*¹ we learn (V), ἔτεροι δὲ ιστόρησαν οὐχ ὑπὸ κυνῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γυναικῶν αὐτὸν διασπασθῆναι πορευόμενον ἄωρὶ πρὸς Κρατερὸν τὸν ἐρώμενον Ἀρχελάου, and (II) εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, ἐν ᾧ γράφων διετέλει. Another citizen declares (671 a) :

Envy did the work !

For, emulating poets of the place,
One Arridaïos, one Krateues, both
Established in the royal favour.

The *Life* reads (V) : ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἀρριβαίου τοῦ Μακεδόνης καὶ Κρατεῦα τοῦ Θετταλοῦ, ποιητῶν ὄντων καὶ φθονησάντων αὐτῷ καὶ πεισάντων τὸν βασιλέως οἰκέτην, ὄνομα Λυσίμαχον, δέκα μνῶν ἀγορασθέντα, τοὺς βασιλικούς οὓς αὐτὸς ἔτρεφε κύνας ἐπαφεῖναι τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ. The replies of Euthycles to both citizens (671 a), "He was loved by Sokrates," and "Protagoras instructed him," remind one of the sentence (I), ὥς δὴ ἀκουστῆς γενόμενος Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ Προδίκου καὶ Πρωταγόρου καὶ Σωκράτους ἐταῖρος. But the comic poet Plato retorts (671 a) :

"it chanced,
Pursuing an intrigue one moonless night
With Arethousian Nikodikos' wife,
(Come now, his years were simply seventy-five)
Crossing the palace-court, what haps he on
But Archelaos' pack of hungry hounds?
Who tore him piecemeal ere his cry brought help !"

And the version in the *Life* runs as follows (V), οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν γαμετὴν Νικοδίκου τοῦ Ἀρεθουσίου (ιστόρησαν . . . πορευόμενον . . . διασπασθῆναι), and (I), χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Εὐριπίδου ἐν ἄλσει τινὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡρεμοῦντος, Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον ἐξελθόντος, τῶν σκυλάκων ἀπολυθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν κυνηγῶν καὶ περιτυχόντων Εὐριπίδῃ, διεσπαράχθη καταβρωθεὶς ὁ ποιητής.² Other incidents related in these *Lives* Browning treats in different ways: those that redound to the

¹ *Vita Euripidis*, in Dindorf's edition of the *Scholía* to the plays of Euripides, Vol. I, p. 1 sqq.

² Browning localizes the scene not in the ἄλσος, as tradition records (cf. *Vita* IV also), but in the palace-court.

credit of Euripides proceed naturally from the mouth of the "poet's champion," Balaustion. Thus she says (670*b*) :

He propped the state and filled the treasury,
Counselled the king as might a meaner soul,
Furnished the friend with what shall stand in stead
Of crown and sceptre, star his name about
When these are dust.

The *Life* reads (I) ἐκέϊθεν δὲ εἰς Μακεδονίαν περὶ Ἀρχέλαον γενόμενος διέτριψε καὶ χαριζόμενος αὐτῷ δρᾶμα ὁμωνύμως ἔγραψε, καὶ μάλα ἔπραττε παρ' αὐτῷ, ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διοικήσεων ἐγένετο. On this same fact of the poet's coöperation with the Macedonian king in matters of state bear such passages as (670*a*) :

The statist's olive as the poet's bay.
Wiselier, he suffered not a twofold aim
Retard his pace, confuse his sight; at once
Poet and statist,

and (697*a*) :

Live the guest's life, or work the poet's way,
Which also means the statesman's.

The personal appearance of the tragic poet as described by Aristophanes (687*b*),

Beard, freckled face, brow,

corresponds closely with the words in the *Life* (I), ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ βαθὺν πώγωνα θρέψαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄψεως φακοὺς ἐσχηκέναι,¹ and the reserve that characterized Euripides is indicated by the comic poet (689*a*) as,

that calm cold
Sagacity you call Euripides,

or again (684*a*) :

the cold grave-bearded bard,

or tersely (686*b*) as

cold Euripides.

So in the *Life* (V) we are informed that Euripides was σκυθρωπὸς δὲ τὸ εἶδος . . . καὶ ἀμειδῆς καὶ φεύγων τὰς συνουσίας and (in *Life* II) as

¹ Cf. *Thes.* 190.

σκυθρωπὸς δὲ καὶ σύννους καὶ αὐστηρὸς ἐφαίνετο καὶ μισογέλως καὶ μισογύνης. Balaustion represents the people rebuking him (670*a*) as

The idle poet only? No regard
For civic duty, public service,

and jeering him (*ibid.*) as a

“Cold hater of his kind,
A sea cave suits him, not the vulgar hearth!
What need of tongue-talk, with a bookish store
Would stock ten cities?”¹

¹ The poet's retirement to his cave is mentioned also in 678*b* and 679*a*. For his books (see 690*a*) cf. *Ran.* 943, 1409. Furthermore, the reader of the *Apology* will often meet with those criticisms of Euripides that have become common-places of tradition. The plays of Aristophanes are responsible for many of them. The taunts that his mother sold herbs and that Cephisophon had too intimate relations with his wife and coöperated with him in writing his tragedies are reflected in the *Apology* (690*a* and 700*b*). The innovations that Euripides introduced in the spirit of tragedy, his realism, his treatment of the subject of sexual love, his free handling of legends, his opinions frequently expressed on the position of women and slavery, his choice of characters, — all these are concretely expressed in the passage (695*a*; see also 695*b*):

“‘I, his successor,’ gruff the answer grunts,
‘Incline to poetize philosophy,
Extend it rather than restrain; as thus —
Are heroes men? No more, and scarce as much,
Shall mine be represented. Are men poor?
Behold them ragged, sick, lame, halt and blind!
Do they use speech? Ay, street-terms, market-phrase!

I now make womankind,
For thinking, saying, doing match the male.
Recognize in the very slave — man's mate,’”

and again (696*a*):

Applauds inventiveness — the plot so new,
The turn and trick subsidiary so strange!
She relishes that homely phrase of life,
That common-town-talk, more than trumpet-blasts:
Accords him right to chop and change a myth.

At such innovations as these did Aristophanes direct his satire, particularly in plays like the *Acharnians* and the *Frogs* (e.g., cf. *Ach.* 411 sqq. and *Ran.* 937 sqq.). Again, those daring sentiments, to which Euripides gave expression in his tragedies,

The author of the *Life* says (II) : φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι σπήλαιον κατασκεύασαντα ἀναπνοὴν ἔχον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκείσε διημερεύειν φεύγοντα τὸν ὄχλον. In the closing lines of the *Apology* Balaustion makes use of three other stories, all taken from the same source. Tradition said that the day of the birth of Euripides was coincident with the battle of Salamis,

That sixteenth famed day of Munuchion-month !
The day when Hellas fought at Salamis,
The very day Euripides was born (747*a*),

and which Aristophanes repeated and parodied, appear quite naturally in the *Apology*; e. g. (680*a*),

Life's not Life,

or (692*b*), in another version,

I cry, 'Life!' 'Death,' he groans, 'our better Life!'

and (683*b*):

death seemed life and life seemed death,

with which compare *Ran.* 1082:

καὶ φασκούσας οὐ ξῆν τὸ ξῆν

and *ibid.* 1477:

τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ξῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν;

The famous line in the *Hippolytus*, to which Mnesilochus refers in the *Thesmophoria-zusae* 275:

μέμνησο τοίνυν ταῦθ', ὅτι ἡ φρὴν ὤμοσεν,
ἡ γλῶττα δ' οὐκ ὁμώμοκ'· οὐδ' ὥρκωσ' ἐγώ,

(see also *Ran.* 102 and 1471), is thus presented (680*a*):

The tongue swore, but unsworn the mind remains,

and again (700*b*),

The tongue swears, but the soul remains unsworn.

The influence of the expression (695*a* and *b*),

There are no gods,

or (690*b*), in another form,

You and your master don't acknowledge gods:

"They are not, no, they are not!"

may be seen in *Thes.* 450:

νῦν δ' οὗτος ἐν ταῖσιν τραγῳδαῖς ποιῶν
τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀναπέπεικεν οὐκ εἶναι θεούς.

(See also 699*b* and 748*b*.) And the line (742*b*),

What's filth, — unless who does it, thinks it so?

is an echo of *Ran.* 1475:

τί δ' αἰσχρὸν, ἣν μὴ τοῖς θεωμένοις δοκῇ;

or, in the language of the *Life* (I), ἐγεννήθη δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐπὶ Καλ-
λιάδου ἄρχοντος κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε ἐνανμάχησαν τοῖς Πέρσαις
οἱ Ἕλληνες.¹ The incident that Balaustion relates in the following lines
(747*b*) :

I sent the tablets, the psalterion, so
Rewarded Sicily; the tyrant there
Bestowed them worthily in Phoibos' shrine.
A gold-graved writing tells — "I also loved
The poet, Free Athenai cheaply prized —
King Dionusios, — Archelaos-like!"

is adapted from a passage in *Vita* II: λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἑρμιππος Διονύσιον
τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου τάλαντον τοῖς
κληρονόμοις αὐτοῦ πέμψαντα λαβεῖν τὸ ψαλτήριον καὶ τὴν δέλτον καὶ τὸ
γραφεῖον, ἅπερ ἰδόντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς φέροντας ἐν τῷ Μουσῶν ἱερῷ ἀνα-
θεῖναι ἐπιγράψαντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ Εὐριπίδου ὀνόμασιν.² At the beginning
of the *Apology* she makes allusion to the verses of the poet Philemon in
the lines (667*a*) :

Surely, where thought so bears soul, soul in time
May permanently bide, "assert the wise,"
Then live in peace, then work in hope once more —
O nothing doubt, Philemon,

and (*ibid.*)

o'er this world
Extends that realm where, "as the wise assert,"
Philemon, thou shalt see Euripides
Clearer than mortal sense perceived the man!

and at the end of the poem (748*a*) she translates the verses preserved
in the *Lives* (I, II, IV), οὕτω δ' αὐτὸν Φιλῆμων ἠγάπησεν ὥς καὶ τάδε
περὶ αὐτοῦ τολμῆσαι εἰπέιν

¹ Plutarch, *Lysander* c. 15, says that the battle of Salamis occurred on the sixteenth day of Munychion. His statement is incorrect; the battle was fought in Boedromion, and the error has been perpetuated by Browning, who, as will be shown later (p. 68), used this life of Plutarch's as a source. It is not impossible to find Browning lapsing at times from the habits of accurate scholarship and the meticulous attention to details that are usually so noticeable in our poem. But I leave to other hands the ungracious task of pointing out these aberrations from the truth.

² Compare 687*b*:

His table-book and graver, play-wright's tool!
And lo, the sweet psalterion.

εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν οἱ τεθνηκότες
 αἴσθησιν εἶχον, ἄνδρες ὥς φασὶν τινες,
 ἀπηγξάμην ἂν, ὥστ' ἰδεῖν Εὐριπίδην.

οὕτως ἡγοῦντο πολλοὺ τινος ἄξιον.

And see if young Philemon, — sure one day
 To do good service and be loved himself, —
 If he too have not made a votive verse!
 “Grant, in good sooth, our great dead, all the same,
 Retain their sense, as certain wise men say,
 I’d hang myself — to see Euripides!”

When the news of Euripides’ death in Macedonia reached Athens, the people raised the cry (673*a*) :

‘Bring the poet’s body back,
 Bury him in Peiraios: o’er his tomb
 Let Alkamenes carve the music-witch,
 The songstress-seiren, meed of melody:
 Thoukudides invent his epitaph!’

In this passage Browning must have had in mind not only the words of the *Life* (I) : κενotáφιον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀθήνησιν ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο Θουκυδίδου τοῦ ιστοριογράφου ποιήσαντος, but those of the ancient *Life* of Sophocles, φασὶ δ’ ὅτι καὶ τῷ μνήματι αὐτοῦ σειρήνα ἐπέστησαν (i. e. on the tomb of Sophocles).¹

¹ The source of the following passage is uncertain (747*b*) :

He lies now in the little valley, laughed
 And moaned about by those mysterious streams,
 Boiling and freezing, like the love and hate
 Which helped or harmed him through his earthly course.
 They mix in Arethousa by his grave.

This tradition is preserved in Vitruvius 8, 3, 16, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 31, 28. That Browning was familiar with the latter is attested by a reference in his *Letters to Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, II, p. 195. Pliny says: in Macedonia non procul Euripidis poetae sepulcro, duo rivi confluent, alter saluberrimi potus, alter mortiferi. It is to be noted that Browning imputes to the streams a nature different from that assigned by Pliny. A similar confusion may have existed in Browning’s mind in another passage (680*a*; cf. 698*b*) :

Satyric pittance tossed our beggar world
 Your proud Euripides from first to last
 Doled out some five such, never deigned us more!

Of one story in the *Lives* of Euripides the English poet made telling account, the familiar story of Sophocles clothing his chorus in black to do honor to the great dead. Aristophanes learned the news of the poet's death not by hearsay, not by report as it spread from street to street, but at the feast in the Priest's house, while celebrating the victory that the reconstructed *Thesmophoriazusae* had gained; in the midst of the hilarity and laughter roused by jests at the expense of Euripides, a knock was heard and there entered (682 b),

an old pale-swathed majesty,
Makes slow mute passage through two ranks as mute,

Grey brow still bent on ground, upraised at length
When, our Priest reached, full-front the vision paused.
“ ‘ Priest ! ’ — the deep tone succeeded the fixed gaze —
‘ Thou carest that thy god have spectacle
Decent and seemly; wherefore I announce
That, since Euripides is dead to-day,
My Choros, at the Greater Feast, next month,
Shall, clothed in black, appear ungarlanded.’ ”¹

Sophocles went as impressively as he came. And when the feasters had recovered from their astonishment at the apparition, first one and then another, by mock jest, tried to relieve the tensivity of the situation.

The number of satyric plays was eight (see *Vita* III, *ad fin.*), of victories five. So in 696 b,

Oh, I concede, he rarely gained a prize.

The sources of two other passages may be the arguments to the plays. Thus 683 a:

Instance “ *Medeia* ” ! that play yielded palm
To Sophokles; and he again — to whom?
Euphorion !

and in the argument to the *Medea* we read *πρῶτος Εὐφορίων, δεύτερος Σοφοκλῆς, τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδεία, κ.τ.λ.* And again (680 a; cf. 698 b):

That same Alkestis you so rave about
Passed muster with him for a Satyr-play,

and in the argument to the *Alkestis*, τὸ δὲ δράμα ἐστὶ σατυρικώτερον (cf. *Prolegomena*, Dübner, IX, p. xix, v. 75, σατυρικῆς δὲ οὐ τὸ ἀπὸ πένθους εἰς χαρὰς ἀπαντᾶν, ὡς ὁ Εὐριπίδου Ὀρέστης καὶ Ἀλκῆστις, κ.τ.λ.).

¹ *Vita* I, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Σοφοκλέα ἀκούσαντα ὅτι ἐτελεύτησε, αὐτὸν μὲν ἱματίῳ φαιῷ προελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ χορὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἀστεφανώτους εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐν τῷ προαγῶνι καὶ δακρῦσαι τὸν δῆμον. See also *Vita* IV.

Embodied in their various remarks are stories drawn from the ancient *Life* of Sophocles. One of the feasters says (683 a) :

Dead — so one speaks now of Euripides !
 Ungarlanded dance Choros, did he say?
 I guess the reason : in extreme old age
 No doubt such have the gods for visitants.
 Why did he dedicate to Herakles
 An altar else, but that the god, turned Judge,
 Told him in dream who took the crown of gold?
 He who restored Akropolis the theft,
 Himself may feel perhaps a timely twinge
 At thought of certain other crowns he filched
 From — who now visits Herakles the Judge.

A passage in the *Life* throws light on this obscure incident : γέγονε δὲ καὶ θεοφιλῆς ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος, καθά φησιν Ἱερώνυμος περὶ τῆς χρυσῆς στεφάνης. ταύτης γὰρ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως κλαπίσης κατ' ὄναρ Ἡρακλῆς ἐδήλωσε Σοφοκλεῖ, λέγων τὴν μὴ οἰκοῦσαν οἰκίαν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσιόντι ἐρευνῆσαι, ἔνθα ἐκέκρυπτο. ἐμήνυσε δ' αὐτὴν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τάλαντον ἐδέξατο· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν προκηρυχθέν. λαβὼν οὖν τὸ τάλαντον ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Μηνυτοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Another reveller declares (683 b) :

Instead of stinginess,
 The fact is, in extreme decrepitude,
 He has discarded poet and turned priest,
 Priest of Half-Hero Alkon : visited
 In his own house too by Asklepios' self,
 So he avers. Meanwhile, his own estate
 Lies fallow; Iophon's the manager, —
 Nay, touches up a play, brings out the same,
 Asserts true sonship.

In the *Life* we read : ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀλκωνος¹ ἱερωσύνην, ὃς ἦρως ἦν μετὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρὰ Χείρωνι² and καί ποτε ἐν δράματι

¹ The MSS. read Ἀλωνος here, which Meineke (*Com. Gr.* II, 2, p. 683) emended to Ἀλκωνος, an emendation that has long been in favor. As a matter of fact, however, we should read Ἀμύνου. For the Amyneum, where Sophocles was priest, see the literature in Judeich, *Topogr. v. Athen*, pp. 259 sqq.

² The *Life* has nothing to say about this intimacy between Sophocles and Asclepius, but according to Plutarch, *Numa*, c. 4, Σοφοκλεῖ δὲ καὶ ζῶντι τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐπι-ξενωθῆναι λόγος ἐστὶ, and this definition of Δεξιων may have somewhere met Brown-ing's eyes (*Et. Mag.* s. v. Δεξιων) : ὠνόμασαν (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) Δεξιωνα, ἀπὸ τῆς

εἰσῆγαγε τὸν Ἰοφῶντα αὐτῷ φθονοῦντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φράτορας ἐγκα-
λοῦντα τῷ πατρὶ ὡς ὑπὸ γήρως παραφρονοῦντι.¹ The line (701b),

Boasts for his father just a sword-blade-smith,

may owe something to the words in the *Life*, υἱὸς δὲ Σοφίλλου, ὃς οὔτε, ὡς Ἀριστόξενός φησι, τέκτων ἢ χαλκεὺς ἦν, οὔτε, ὡς Ἰστρος, μαχαιροποιὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν, and the appellation, "the Muses' Bee" (695a) may be set beside the language of the *Life*, μόνος δὲ Σοφοκλῆς ἀφ' ἐκάστου τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀπανθίζει· καθ' ὃ καὶ μέλιττα ἐλέγετο.² But

τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεξιώσεως. καὶ γὰρ ὑπεδέξατο τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο. So in the *Apology*, Aristophanes says (701b):

Asklepios, answer! — deity in vogue,
Who visits Sophokles familiarly,

At any rate, to memorize the fact,
He has spent money, set an altar up
In the god's temple.

¹ See also *Ar. Ran.* 73-78 and scholium on v. 78, κωμωδεῖται γὰρ ὁ Ἰοφῶν ὁ υἱὸς Σοφοκλέους ὡς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λέγων ποιήματα.

² Cf. schol. on the *Wasps* 462, ὁ Σοφοκλῆς γὰρ ἡδύς· διὸ καὶ μέλιττα ἐκαλεῖτο. There remains one passage which illustrates one method of treating the sources that Browning sometimes followed. For convenience I place opposite the appropriate lines their probable origins. Aristophanes says (701b):

Of Sophokles himself — nor word nor sign
Beyond a harmless parody or so!
He founds no anti-school, upsets no faith,
But, living, lets live, the good easy soul
Who, — if he saves his cash, unpoetlike,
Loves wine and — never mind what other sport,
Boasts for his father just a sword-blade-smith,
Proves but queer captain when the people claim,
For one who conquered with 'Antigone,'
The right to undertake a squadron's charge, —
And needs the son's help now to finish plays,
Seeing his dotage calls for governance
And Iophon to share his property.

Ar. Ran. 82.

Ar. Pax 699.

Athen. 13, 603 }
and 13, 557 }

Vita.

Vita or

Arg. Antig.

Ar. Ran. 78.

Vita.

Of the plays of Sophocles, reference is made (743a) to the *Oedipus Coloneus*:

And Iophon produced his father's play, —
Crowned the consummate song where Oidipous
Dared the descent mid earthquake-thundering,
And hardly Theseus' hands availed to guard

this *Life*, unlike the *Lives* of Euripides, deals but little in personalities and contains few details available for dramatic purposes. It did, however, furnish a hint, which Browning developed into an incidental poem of several stanzas (739*b* sqq.). The subject of this minor poem is the contest of Thamyris with the Muses, and the disaster that overtook the Thracian bard for his presumption. His fate is interpreted by Aristophanes as a warning to himself to recognize his own limitations. The poem is based on materials drawn from three different sources.

In the *Life* of Sophocles we read, 'φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ κιθάραν ἀναλαβὼν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ Θαμύριδι ποτε ἐκιθάρισεν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ μετὰ κιθάρας αὐτὸν γεγράφθαι, and the statement is thus paraphrased in the words of Aristophanes addressed to Balaustion (739*b*) :

“ Well thought of, Thamuris.
Has zeal, pray, for ‘ best friend ’ Euripides
Allowed you to observe the honour done
His elder rival, in our Poikilé?
You don’t know? Once and only once, trod stage,
Sang and touched lyre in person, in his youth,
Our Sophokles, — youth, beauty, dedicate
To Thamuris who named the tragedy.

The other sources are to be found in the *Rhesus* of Euripides and in the *Iliad*, as Browning admits in a passage closely following the one just quoted (740*a*) :

At least you know the story, for ‘ best friend ’
Enriched his ‘ Rhesos ’ from the Blind Bard’s store.

Eyes from the horror, as their grove disgorged
Its dread ones, while each daughter sank to ground,

(though it is to be noted that not Iophon but, to use the language of the argument to this play, Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ὕψους ἐδίδαξεν, υἱὸς ὦν Ἀπύρῳ; and again (713*a*);

That choros-chant “ The station of the steed,
Stranger ! thou comest to, — Kolonos white ! ”

In the words (668*b*) :

Of Iokasté,
what the pride

there is an allusion to the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, (see also 705*b*, Sophokles, — I’ll cite, “Oidipous”) and to the *Antigone*, 670*a*,

Not only could he write “ Antigóné,”
But — since (we argued) whoso penned that piece
Might just as well conduct a squadron. (Cf. 702*a*.)

The story of Thamyris, as told in the *Iliad* 2, 594, is as follows:

καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι
ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήικα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς
Οἰχαλίηθεν ἰόντα παρ' Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος·
στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν, εἴπερ ἂν αὐταὶ
Μοῦσαι ἀείδοιεν, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν
θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκκέλαθον κιθαριστύν,

and in the *Rhesus* 919:

περῶσα γὰρ δὴ ποταμίους διὰ ῥοάς
λέκτροις ἐπλάθην Στρυμόνος φυταλμίους
ὄτ' ἤλθομεν γῆς χρυσόβωλον ἐς λέπας
Πάγγαιον ὀργάνοισιν ἐξησκημέναι
Μοῦσαι μεγίστην εἰς ἔριν μελωδίας
κλεινῷ σοφιστῇ Θρηκί, κάτυφλώσαμεν
Θάμυριν, ὃς ἡμῶν πολλ' ἐδέενασεν τέχνην.

The influence of these passages is seen in the following lines from the *Apology* (740 a):

Thamuris from Oichalia, feasted there
By kingly Eurutos of late, now bound
For Dorion at the uprise broad and bare
Of Mount Pangaios (ore with earth enwound
Glittered beneath his footsteps) — marching gay
And glad,

and (741 b):

I have not spurned the common life,
Nor vaunted mine a lyre to match the Muse
Who sings for gods, not men! Accordingly,
I shall not decorate her vestibule —
Mute marble, blind the eyes and quenched the brain,
Loose in the hand a bright, a broken lyre!
— Not Thamuris but Aristophanes!

In one of the stanzas of this incidental poem that Aristophanes sings (740 b):

Balura — happier while its name was not —
Met him, but nowise menaced: slipt aside,
Obsequious river to pursue its lot
Of solacing the valley,

the first line may be due to a remark of Pausanias on the origin of the name of the river (4, 33, 3): τὸ ῥεῦμά ἐστι τῆς Βαλύρας. γενέσθαι δέ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι Θαμύριδος τὴν λύραν ἐνταῦθα ἀποβαλόντος ἐπὶ τῇ πηρώσει.¹

The third great tragic poet, Aeschylus, plays an unimportant part in the *Apology*. There is an allusion to his *Eumenides* in the words (668*b*),

Memories asleep as, at the altar-foot
Those Furies in the Oresteian song,

and to his *Agamemnon* in the clause (668*b*), "How Klutaimnestra hated." The poet himself appears as one of the *dramatis personae* in the *Frogs* (741*b*):

Ay, you shall hear none else but Aischulos
Lay down the law of Tragedy,

and is mentioned with two of his contemporaries in the lines spoken by Aristophanes (676*a*),

True, lady, I am tolerably drunk:
The proper inspiration! Otherwise,—
Phrunichos, Choirilos!—had Aischulos
So foiled you at the goat-song?²

The various sources that we have passed in review afforded Browning the richest and the most abundant materials. What sources remain to be considered are sporadic and show that our poet went farther afield and selected his materials from a wider range.

It is not necessary to relate here — so familiar is the story — how he seized upon those two episodes in the *Nicias* (c. 29) and the *Lysander*³ of Plutarch, amplified and vitalized them, and with admirable

¹ Browning's attention may have been called to these words in the annotations on the passage in the *Iliad* quoted above (p. 67). Pausanias in the same chapter, § 7, thus comments on the Homeric lines: πεποίηκε δὲ Ὀμηρος μὲν Θαμύριδι ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Δωρίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰς Μούσας νικήσειν ἔφασκεν ἀδούσας.

² For other references to Aeschylus, see 668*a*, 669*b*, 680*a*, 693*a*, 693*b*, 699*b*, 705*b*, 743*b*. For other tragic poets, compare Choerilus 676*a*; Phrynichus 668*b*; 676*a*; Agathon and the younger Euripides 670*b*; Euphorion 683*a*, 696*b*; Ion 696*b*; Iophon 696*b*, 702*a*, 743*a*.

³ Chapter 15: εἶτα μέντοι συνουσίας γενομένης τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρὰ πότον καὶ τινος Φωκέως ἄσαντος ἐκ τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἠλέκτρας τὴν παράδοον, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή (vn. 167-8)

Ἀγαμέμνωνος ὦ κόρα

ἦλθον, Ἠλέκτρα, ποτὶ σὺν ἀγρότειραν αὐλάν,

πάντας ἐπικλασθῆναι, καὶ φανῆναι σχέτλιον ἔργον τὴν οὕτως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ τοιούτους ἄνδρας φέρουσιν ἀνελεῖν καὶ διεργάσασθαι πόλιν. ὁ δ' οὖν Λύσανδρος ἐνδόντων τῶν

adroitness fitted them into the frame-work of his *Balaustion's Adventure* and his *Aristophanes' Apology*. In that same life of *Nicias* he must have read of the eclipse of the moon which inspired such fear in *Nicias* (Plut. *Nic.* c. 23) : ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτός, μέγα δέος τῷ Νικίᾳ; and in the *Apology* (686 a) :

I felt as when some *Nikias*, — ninny-like
Troubled by sunspot-portent, moon-eclipse;

and in the same chapter of the rational explanation of the causes of the eclipse as given by *Anaxagoras*, ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατόν τε πάντων καὶ θαρραλεώτατον περὶ σελήνης κατανασμῶν καὶ σκιᾶς λόγον εἰς γραφὴν καταθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας, which words may be set beside the declaration of *Aristophanes* (694 b) :

Anaxagoras,
I had not known how simple proves eclipse
But for thy teaching!

And the well-known incident in the life of *Sophocles* (713 a) :

A story goes — when *Sophokles*, last year,
Cited before tribunal by his son
(A poet — to complete the parallel)
Was certified unsound of intellect,
And claimed as only fit for tutelage,
Since old and doating and incompetent
To carry on this world's work, — the defence
Consisted just in his reciting (calm
As the verse bore, which sets our hearts a-swell
And voice a-heaving too tempestuously)
That choros-chant "The station of the steed,
Stranger! thou comest to, — *Kolonos white!*"
Then he looked round and all revolt was dead,

takes us back to Plut. *Mor.* 785 A : Σοφοκλῆς δὲ λέγεται μὲν ὑπὸ παίδων παρανοίας δίκην φεύγων ἀναγνῶναι τὴν ἐν Οἰδίποδι τῷ ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ πάροδον, ἣ ἔστιν ἀρχή

εὐίππου, ξένε, τᾷσδε χώρας, κ.τ.λ.,

**Ἀθηναίων* πρὸς ἅπαντα, πολλὰς μὲν ἐξ ἄστεος μεταπεμψάμενος αὐλητρίδας, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συναγαγὼν, τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτε καὶ τὰς τριήρεις κατέφλεγε πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν, ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ παιζόντων ἅμα τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρχουσιν τῆς ἐλευθερίας. This episode in expanded form appears in the *Apology* 745 b to 747 a inclusive. See also 667 b.

θανυμαστοῦ δὲ τοῦ μέλους φανέντος, ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου τοῦ δικαστηρίου προπεμφθῆναι μετὰ κρότου καὶ βοῆς τῶν παρόντων.¹

As for Athenaeus, when we bear in mind Browning's predilection for the recondite, we can readily believe that the *Dipnosophistae* was no sealed book to him. At least, when he makes use of an anecdote that links the names of Lais and Euripides, the verbal correspondence is so close as to warrant our believing this the model. Athenaeus (582c) relates: Λαίδα λέγουσι τὴν Κορινθίαν ποτὲ | Εὐριπίδην ἰδοῦσαν ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ | πινακίδα καὶ γραφεῖον ἐξηρτημένον | ἔχοντ'· ἀπόκριναι, φησὶν, ὦ ποιητά μοι, | τί βουλόμενος ἔγραψας ἐν τραγωδίᾳ, | 'ἐρρ', αἰσχροποιέ'; καταπλαγείς δ' Εὐριπίδης | τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῆς, 'σὺ γὰρ, ἔφη, τίς εἶ, γύναι; | οὐκ αἰσχροποιός;' ἡ δὲ γελάσας' ἀπεκρίθη, | 'τί δ' αἰσχρόν, εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκεῖ;' Both Aristophanes and Balaustion reproduce the story. The former declares (686b) that Euripides, should the two ever meet again, could no longer escape him,

Nor turn from me, as, if the tale be true,
From Lais when she met thee in thy walks,
And questioned why she had no rights as thou:
Not so shouldst thou betake thee, be assured,
To book and pencil, deign me no reply!
I would extract an answer from those lips
So closed and cold, were mine the garden-chance! ²

The latter, referring to these words of her opponent, translates the Greek of Athenaeus with fidelity (742a):

No doubt, in what he said that night, sincere!
One story he referred to, false or fact,
Was not without adaptability.

¹ Compare the words of Aristophanes (688a):

from Solon downward with his saw,
"Let none revile the dead,"

with those of Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 21: ἐπαινέται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων νόμος τὸν τεθνηκότα κακῶς ἀγορεύειν, and the lines (679b):

Observe, henceforth no Areopagite
Demean his rank by writing Comedy,

with Plut., *de gloria Atheniensium*, p. 348c: τῶν δὲ δραματοποιῶν τὴν μὲν κωμωδιοποιίαν οὕτως ἄσεμνον ἡγοῦντο καὶ φορτικόν, ὥστε νόμος ἦν μηδένα ποιεῖν κωμωδίας Ἀρεοπαγίτην.

² These last words, "were mine the garden-chance," are a reminiscence of the ἐν κήπῳ of Athenaeus.

They do say — Lais the Corinthian once
 Chancing to see Euripides (who paced
 Composing in a garden, tablet-book
 In left hand, with appended stulos prompt)
 "Answer me," she began, "O Poet, — this!
 What didst intend by writing in thy play
Go hang, thou filthy doer?" Struck on heap,
 Euripides, at the audacious speech —
 "Well now," quoth he, "thyself art just the one
 I should imagine fit for deeds of filth!"
 She laughingly retorted his own line
 "What's filth, — unless who does it, thinks it so?"

To Athenaeus again is due this bit of gossip touching Euripides (671*a*):

"*Phu,*" whistled Comic Platon, "hear the fact!
 'Twas well said of your friend by Sophokles
 "He hate our women? In his verse, belike:
 But when it comes to prose-work, — ha, ha, ha!"

which appears as follows (557*E*): *εἰπόντος Σοφοκλεῖ τινος ὅτι μισογύνῃς ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδης, ἐν γε ταῖς τραγωδίαις, ἔφη ὁ Σοφοκλῆς, ἐπεὶ ἐν γε τῇ κλίνῃ φιλογύνῃς.*¹

Browning's acquaintance with Pindar is indicated by the words (675*a*):

Because, if Helios wived,
 As Pindaros sings somewhere prettily,

and again (666*b*), when Balaustion says,

Bear (me) to my birthplace, Helios' island-bride,

Compare Pindar, *Ol.* 7, 14: *Ἀελίοιο τε νύμφαν, Ῥόδον.* Cf. *ibid.* 71.

¹ Is it not safe to ascribe to Athenaeus the sentiment in the lines (671*b*):

Appraise no poetry, — price cuttlefish,
 Or that seaweed — alphestes, scorpion-sort,

which may have been suggested by the words (281*F*), *μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Νουμήιος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ οὕτως, φυκίδας ἀλφιστῆν τε καὶ ἐν χροιῇσιν ἐρυθρὸν | σκορπίον?* From the same source may be derived the "Rhodian jack-daw song" (674*a*; cf. *Athen.* 359*D*); the "ellops-fish" (691*a*; cf. *ibid.* 308*B*); and the names of the courtesans, Saperdion (694*b*, 695*a* and *b*; cf. *ibid.* 591*C*) and Bacchis (712*a*; cf. *ibid.* 594*B*). The oath "by the cabbage" (675*b*) savors of the *Dipnosophistae* (cf. *ibid.* 370*B*).

The familiar boast of Euripides (695 *a*) :

I paint men as they are — so runs my boast —
Not as they should be,

is of course due to Aristotle's remark in the *Poetics*, c. 25 : Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη αὐτὸς μὲν οἷους δεῖ ποιεῖν, Εὐριπίδην δὲ οἷοι εἶσιν, and the Aristotelian doctrine of purgation (*ibid.* c. 6) appears now in this dress (668 *b*) :

Small rebuked by large,
We felt our puny hates refine to air,
Our poor prides sink, prevent the humbling hand,
Our petty passions purify their tide,

or (*ibid.*) :

What else in life seems piteous any more
After such pity, or proves terrible
Beside such terror?

or in this (696 *a*) :

The noble slaves, wise women, move as much
Pity and terror as true tragic types.

Were it not for Browning's express testimony, one would hesitate before citing Aelian as a source, but in his *Letters to Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (I, p. 535, dated March 6, 1846, nearly thirty years before the publication of the *Apology*), Browning writes : "Aelian, speaking of Socrates' magnanimity, says that on the first representation [i. e. of the *Clouds*], a good many foreigners being present who were at a loss to know 'who could be this Sokrates,' the sage himself stood up that he might be pointed out to them by the auditory at large . . . 'which,' says Aelian, 'was no difficulty for them, to whom his features were most familiar, the very potters being in the habit of decorating their vessels with his likeness' — no doubt out of a pleasant and affectionate admiration." ¹ The passage in the *Apology* is as follows (710 *b*) :

¹ Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 2, 13: περιφερομένου τολυνν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ Σωκράτους καὶ ὀνομαζομένου πολλάκις, οὐκ ἂν δὲ θαυμάσαιμι εἰ καὶ βλεπομένου ἐν τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς (δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι καὶ οἱ σκευοποιοὶ ἔπλασαν αὐτὸν ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξεικάσαντες), ἀλλ' οἳ γε ξένοι (τὸν γὰρ κωμωδοῦμενον ἡγνόνουν) θροῦς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπανίστατο, καὶ ἐξήτουν ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτος ὁ Σωκράτης ἐστίν. ὅπερ οὖν ἐκεῖνος αἰσθόμενος (καὶ γὰρ τοὶ καὶ παρῇν οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἐκ τύχης, εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτε κωμωδοῦσιν αὐτὸν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐκάθητο), ἵνα οὖν λύσῃ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἀπορίαν, ἐξαναστὰς παρ' ὅλον τὸ δρᾶμα ἀγωνιζομένων τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἐστὼς ἐβλέπετο. τοσοῦτον ἄρα περιῆν τῷ Σωκράτει τοῦ κωμωδίας καὶ Ἀθηναίων καταφρονεῖν. But οἱ σκευοποιοὶ can hardly mean 'potters,' its sense being 'mask-makers.' Cf. also Plat. *Symp.* 215 A, B.

Did you wish
Hellas should haste, as taught, with torch in hand,
And fire the horrid Speculation-shop?
Straight the shop's master rose and showed the mob
What man was your so monstrous Sokrates;
Himself received amusement, why not they?

Perhaps to the same source may be referred the following (687*b*):
says Aristophanes,

Come, that's unfair: myself am somebody,
Yet my pictorial fame's just potter's-work, —
I merely figure on men's drinking-mugs!
I and the Flat-nose, Sophroniskos' son,
Oft make a pair.

Such are the elements, directly traceable to classical originals, that Browning incorporated in his poem. They constitute in the main the fruits of his wide reading in Attic comedy and tragedy. His intimate knowledge of the works of Aristophanes and Euripides, — plays as well as fragments — is shown on every page of the *Apology*. Coincidences of phrase and matter, like the direct or indirect quotation of words, lines, or long passages, demonstrate the truth of such a statement. With some confidence, too, it may be affirmed that such subsidiary works as the ancient Lives of Aristophanes, Euripides, and Sophocles presented the English poet with material, which he put to extensive use, and that his acquaintance with them was immediate. It would seem, furthermore, that he has taken many a suggestion from the Aristophanic scholia and reproduced the form and the sentiment of several of the ancient chapters *περὶ κωμῳδίας*. Outside of these works Browning's indebtedness to other Greek authors is not great. The beliefs of Aristophanes and Euripides, their aims and ideals, are in the nature of things the object of the English poet's study. What can throw light on such topics is sought and utilized. So stories from Plutarch, Athenaeus, and Aelian, which it is safe to say are ultimate sources at least, are recorded here and there in the *Apology*. Of the other authors whom I have mentioned, Aeschylus, Pindar, Aristotle, with the poets of the old comedy, it may be said that they receive scant notice, and in comparison with Aristophanes and Euripides are insignificant and negligible.

A LIST OF TEXT-BOOKS FROM THE CLOSE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

BY CHARLES H. HASKINS

TO the historian of the influence of classical antiquity upon the civilization of the Middle Ages the study of mediaeval text-books yields information of the first importance. It was almost wholly as formulated in a few standard texts that the learning of the ancient world was transmitted to mediaeval times, and the authority of these manuals was so great that a list of those in use in any period affords an accurate index of the extent of its knowledge and the nature of its instruction. For the later Middle Ages the names of the text-books in use are known to us chiefly from the statutes prescribing the course of study in the several faculties of the various universities, but, unfortunately, the documents of this sort which have reached us do not belong to the earlier period of university history. If we except the brief list of books in logic, grammar, and rhetoric drawn up by the papal legate in 1215,¹ our earliest information respecting the arts course at the University of Paris comes from 1255² and at Oxford from 1267³; the first medical statutes, those of Paris, Naples, and Salerno, belong to the decade following 1270⁴; while the oldest extant statutes of Bologna⁵ and Montpellier⁶ date from the fourteenth century. By this time, however, important changes had taken place in the subject-matter of both liberal and professional study. The decline of the classics before the triumph of the scholastic logic, the diffusion of the Aristotelian

¹ Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I, p. 78.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 277. There is a compendious account of the principal text-books in arts in Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts* (Columbia thesis, New York, 1906).

³ *Munimenta Academica*, pp. 34-36.

⁴ *Chart. Univ. Par.*, I, p. 517; De Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana* (Naples, 1852), I, p. 361.

⁵ Malagola, *Statuti delle università e dei collegi dello studio bolognese*, pp. 3-44.

⁶ Germain, *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, I, Nos. 25, 65, 68, 75.

metaphysics and natural philosophy, the introduction of new texts in grammar and mathematics, the rise of Arabian medicine — these are some of the changes which made the curriculum of the fourteenth century a very different thing from that of the twelfth. Special interest, accordingly, attaches to an anonymous list of text-books in arts and in the various professional studies which was composed toward the end of the twelfth century and is for the first time printed below. The list, it is true, contains no mention of university organization, still less of any particular institution, but the arrangement of books in order under the seven liberal arts and the professional studies of medicine, civil and canon law, and theology, presupposes something like the university organization of the four faculties; and as reason will be shown for ascribing the list to Alexander Neckam, who studied and taught at Paris in the last quarter of the twelfth century, we may fairly regard it as an unofficial enumeration of the books then in use in the schools of Paris. The importance of Paris as an intellectual center and of this period as an age of transition gives this text a certain significance in the history of mediaeval education.

The list in question forms part of a descriptive vocabulary of terms relating to ecclesiastical matters, court life, and learning, which is preserved in a manuscript in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.¹ This portion of the volume was written in England by an unlearned copyist in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and is accompanied by an elaborate gloss which is quite full but has an almost exclusively lexicographical interest. As the vocabulary has no title or indication of authorship, we shall cite it by the opening words, *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus*. Most of the other tracts in the volume are from the pen of John of Garland, and as this vocabulary is likewise ascribed

¹ Ms. 385 (605), pp. 7-61. For an account of the volume see James, *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, II, p. 441. The vocabulary is preceded by a brief table of contents, as follows: De vestimentis sacerdotilibus. De ornamentis altaris. De officiis cenobii. De ornatu regio. De tyrannorum excertiis. De oblectamentis curialium. De erudicione scolarium. De notario. De grammatica. De logica. De arismetica et musica. De geometria. De astronomia. De phisica. De iure ecclesiastico. De iure civili. De celesti pagina. De librario. The rubric "De notario" is here misplaced; in the text it comes after "De celesti pagina."

to him in the table of contents inserted at the beginning of the volume,¹ it has been treated as one of Garland's works by all who have had occasion to mention it.² This table of contents, however, was written in the fifteenth century by the donor of the manuscript, Roger Marchall, and as its statements cannot be shown to rest on anything better than Marchall's own opinion, we are obliged, in default of any contemporary authority, to treat the matter of authorship as an open question to be determined, if possible, by internal evidence.

Even a cursory examination proves fatal to the hypothesis that Garland was the author. The simple and direct style is in striking contrast with the overloaded pedantry of Garland's writings,³ as seen, for example, in the well-known *Dictionarius*⁴ which he prepared for the students of Paris or in the unpublished *Commentarius curialium*⁵ designed for the instruction of nobles; nor does the subject-matter show parallels to these or to his other works. Moreover, we shall shortly see reasons for assigning the *Sacerdos ad altare* to the close of the twelfth century, while Garland's earliest datable work, the *Dictionarius*, is subsequent to 1218⁶ and his *De triumphis ecclesie* was written

¹ "Diccionarius M^{ri} Iohannis de Garlandia cum commento." In his description of the ms. James inserts "Dictionarius Joh. de Garlandia" as if this occurred on p. 7 of the text, but there is nothing of the sort in the ms.

² Bernard, *Catalogi librorum MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697), No. 1045 of the Cambridge MSS.; Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), p. 310; Way, *Promptorium Parvulorum* (Camden Society), III, pp. xxviii, note, xxx; Smith, *Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, p. 179; *Dictionary of National Biography*, under "Garland," No. 13; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*,² p. 550; Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts*, p. 28; James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, II, p. 441.

³ On Garland's writings see Hauréau, *Notices sur les œuvres authentiques ou supposées de Jean de Garlande*, in the *Notices et extraits des MSS.*, XXVII, 2, pp. 1-86 (1877); and the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴ Edited by Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, pp. 585-612; Wright, *A Volume of Vocabularies* (London, 1857), pp. 120-138; Scheler, in the *Jahrbuch für englische und romanische Litteratur*, VI.

⁵ Caius College, MS. 385, pp. 199-211; Bruges, MS. 546, ff. 77-83v. For specimens see Scheler, *l. c.* VI, p. 52; Way, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, III, p. xxix.

⁶ It contains a reference to the siege of Toulouse in this year and was written after the close of the Albigensian war ("sedato tumultu belli"). Ed. Scheler, *Jahrbuch*, VI, p. 153; Hauréau, *Notice*, pp. 45-46.

as late as 1252.¹ Garland and the author of our vocabulary were plainly a full generation apart.²

There is, on the other hand, enough resemblance of style and matter to suggest some connection between the author of the *Sacerdos ad altare* and an older lexicographer of considerable repute, Alexander Neckam. Neckam was born at St. Albans in 1157,³ taught for some years at Dunstable in the time of Warin, abbot of St. Albans⁴ (1183–1195), and later became a canon of Cirencester, where he was made abbot in 1213 and died in 1217.⁵ He studied and taught at Paris, where he became a pillar of the school of the Petit Pont, the range of his studies covering not only the liberal arts but also theology, medi-

¹ *Joannis de Garlandia de Triumphis Ecclesiae Libri Octo*, ed. Wright (London, Roxburgh Club, 1856), pp. ix, 139, where there is a reference to the crusade projected by Ferdinand III for that year. The *Poetria* (ed. Mari, *I Trattati Medievali di Ritmica Latina*, Milan, 1889, pp. 35–80; and *Romanische Forschungen*, XIII, pp. 883–965) is assigned to ca. 1260 by Hauréau, *Notice*, p. 82. Cf. Mari, *I Trattati*, p. 7; and Rockinger, in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*, IX, p. 489.

² It is usually stated by the biographers of John of Garland that he studied at Paris under Alain de Lille, who died in 1202, but the passage in the *De triumphis ecclesie* (p. 74) which is cited in support of this view affords no evidence that John was Alain's pupil. As Alain entered the Cistercian order some time before his death (Hauréau, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, XXXII, I, p. 27), it is exceedingly unlikely that he was the master of a man who was writing in 1252 or later. In his introduction to the *De triumphis* (p. vi) Wright argues that John was at the University of Paris as early as 1204, but he reaches this conclusion by translating *quater* "four" in a line of the *De mysteriis ecclesie* which will not scan as he prints it (*delegat* instead of *decem ligat* in the following line). In the text given by Otto, *Commentarii Critici in Codices Bibliothecae Academicæ Gissensis* (Giessen, 1842), p. 147, line 644, this line reads:

Mille ducentenis quater inde decem ligat annis.

Unless we emend the next line in some way so as to read *quinque annos* or something of the sort for *qui nos* (cf. *De triumphis*, p. 127), there is some difficulty in reconciling this with the year 1245 of which Garland is writing, but the reference to the council of Lyons and the death of Alexander of Hales is too plain to admit of any other year. In any case 1204 is quite out of the question.

³ See the extract printed in Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, p. 539, note d.

⁴ *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani* (Rolls Series), I, p. 196.

⁵ *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), I, p. 63; II, p. 289; III, p. 40; IV, p. 409.

cine, and civil and canon law.¹ The exact time of his sojourn at Paris cannot be determined, the date of 1180 given by modern writers resting, like more than one supposed fact of mediaeval literary history, upon an unsupported statement of Du Boulay²; but for reasons of age he can hardly have begun his studies there before 1175, and he must have returned some years before the death of abbot Warin in 1195. Neckam was a man of much learning and a prolific author, his writings comprising fables, books on natural history, theological commentaries, and grammatical and lexicographical treatises; and while a comprehensive and critical study of his works is still lacking, enough is available to permit of satisfactory comparison with the Caius College vocabulary.³

We naturally take up first the *De nominibus utensilium*, written, like Garland's *Dictionarius*, to illustrate in descriptive form the meanings of as many words as possible, but comparison with the *Sacerdos ad altare* is rendered difficult by the fact that the two do not cover the same ground, the *De nominibus* dealing with the vocabulary of the household and of everyday life, while the *Sacerdos ad altare* is confined to court life, learning, and ecclesiastical terms. The Caius College vocabulary

¹ See the *De laudibus*, ed. Wright, p. 503, and cf. in the same volume pp. 311, 414, 453.

² *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, II, p. 725: Alexander Nekamus natione Anglus circa an. 1180 Lutetiae legebat adhuc publice.

³ The fullest list of Neckam's works is that given by Bishop Tanner in his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, pp. 539-541, but it needs sifting and supplementing. Contributions have been made especially by Hauréau, in the *Nouvelle biographie générale*, XXXVII, p. 569, and in his study of the *De motu cordis*, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, XXVIII, 2, pp. 317-334; and by Paul Meyer, *Notice sur les Corrogationes Promethei d'Alexandre Neckam*, in the *Notices et extraits des MSS.*, XXXV, 2, pp. 641-682. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is convenient, but adds nothing. The printed works comprise the *Fables*, published by Hervieux, *Fabulistes latins*², II, pp. 392-416; the *De naturis rerum* and its metrical paraphrase, the *De laudibus divine sapientie*, edited by Wright in the Rolls Series (1863); and the *De nominibus utensilium*, edited, without sufficient study of the glosses, by Wright, *A Volume of Vocabularies*, pp. 96-119, and by Scheler in the *Fahrbuch für englische und romanische Literatur*, VII, pp. 58-74, 155-173. The memoir of Meyer gives extracts from the *Corrogationes*. The poem *De vita monachorum* attributed to Neckam by Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, II, pp. 175-200, has been shown by Hauréau to be the work of another (*Notices et extraits de quelques MSS.*, I, p. 79).

is also briefer and more elementary, being evidently designed for a lower stage of instruction. At one of the few points where the two treatises overlap, namely in dealing with the implements of the *scriptorium*, they show some things in common:—

Caius College, MS. 385, p. 58: Librarius vero, qui vulgo scriptor dicitur, cathedram habeat cum ansis porrectis ad sustinendum asserem cui quaternus superponendus est. Asser autem centone operiatur cui pellis cervina maritetur ut pergameni vel membrane superfluitates rasorio seu novacula queant apcius eradi. Dehinc pellicula ex qua (p. 59) formabitur quaternus pumice mordaci purgetur et planula leni adequetur superficies. Folia iungantur tam in superiori <quam in inferiori> parte quaterni appendicis officio circumvolute. Quaterni margines altrinsecus punctorio distinguantur proportionaliter ut certius usu¹ regule lineetur quaternus errore sublato. Si vero in scribendo liture occurrunt aut obliteracio, non cancelletur scriptura sed abradatur. Opus est autem ut dente apri poliatur locus abrasionis aut panniculo lineo complicito frequenter superinducto confricetur. Sicut vero rubrica est obnoxia minio, sic etiam littere capitales nunc minio, nunc viridi colore, nunc² veneto se debent (?), nunc atiro³ superbire videntur.

De nominibus utensilium, ed Scheler, pp. 167–169: Scriptor rasorium vel novaculum ad abradendum sordes pergameni sive membrane. Pumicem habeat mordacem et planulam ad purgandum et equandum superficiem pergameni; plumbum etiam habeat et lineam quibus linetur pagina. . . . Cidula sive appendice tam in superiori quam inferiori parte folia habeat coniuncta. . . . Scripturus etiam in cathedra sedeat ansis utrimque elevatis pluteum sive asserem sustentibus. . . . Habeat etiam dentem verris sive apri sive liofe ad polliendum percamenum cum liquescat litera (non dico elementum), sive litura facta sit, sive literas ascriptas cancellaverit. . . . Habeat et minium ad formandum literas rubeas vel puniceas vel feniceas sive capitales. Habeat etiam fuscum pulverem et azarram.

These resemblances are not conclusive, but when we turn to Neckam's principal printed work, the *De naturis rerum*, the agreement is very close. We find not only characteristic turns of phrase, like *filiū Ade*,⁴ *celestis pagina*,⁵ *vir maturi pectoris*,⁶ *civilis iuris peritia*,⁷ and

¹ Ms. usus.

² Ms. nuc.

³ I. e. azuro.

⁴ Ed. Wright, pp. 81, 83, 241, 333. Cf. pp. 119, 241: posteritas Ade. *De laudibus*, p. 463: natis Ade; p. 499: Ade successio.

⁵ Pp. 3, 185, 257; *De laudibus*, pp. 414, 453, 500.

⁶ P. 255.

⁷ P. 311. Cf. Meyer, *Corrogationes Promethei*, p. 658.

other similarities to which attention is called in the notes, but some passages have been taken over bodily from one work into the other. The following is a good illustration of such borrowing :

Ms. 385, p. 39: Admiracionem item pariat oculis intuencium¹ psitacus, qui vulgo dicitur papagabio, cuius forma corporis aliquantisper falconem vel hobelum representat sed plumis intensissimi viroris decoratur. Pectore rotundo et rostro adunco munitur, tante virtutis ut cum in cavea recluditur, effectus etiam domesticus, ex virgis ferreis domuncula eius contextatur. Duris enim ictibus et corrosioni rostri non possent resistere² virge lignee. Linguam habet spissam et formacioni soni vocis humane ydoneam. Mire caliditatis et adulacionis est, in eccitando risu preferendus histrionibus.

Miraberis³ etiam et ciconiam, que et crotolistria dicitur, que rostris crepitantibus crotolans horas diei distinguere perhibetur crepitatione sua. In yeme autem latet in aquis sed verno tempore Naiadum regna relinquens sub divo degit clementioris aure leta salutatrix.

The *Sacerdos ad altare* stands in close relation with still another of Neckam's works, the so-called *Corrogationes Promethei*, a treatise in two parts comprising a brief summary of Latin grammar and an elaborate verbal commentary on the Bible. The following passage from the first part of the *Corrogationes* can be paralleled in almost every phrase by the text of the *Sacerdos*⁴:

Habet igitur gramatica suas regulas, dialetica maximas, rethorica locos communes, arismetica aporismata, musica anxiomata, geometria theoremata, astronomia continet canones sicut et decretorum volumen, medicina aphorismos, civilis iuris peritia regulas iuris, theologia regulas sicut et gramatica, unde etiam regulas Ticonii dicimus in celesti pagina.⁵

¹ Ms. intuencium. Cf. *De naturis rerum*, p. 94.

² Ms. risistere.

³ Ms. 72 of the library of Evreux, f. 3; and in the British Museum, ms. Harl. 6, f. 150; mss. Royal 2, D, VIII, f. 17 and 5, C, V, f. 2v. *Notices et extraits*, XXXV, 2, p. 660.

⁴ Ms. mirabilis.

⁵ See especially below, p. 92.

De naturis rerum, pp. 87-88: Psittacus, qui vulgo dicitur papagabio, id est principalis seu nobilis gabio, eoas inhabitat oras. . . . Forma corporis aliquantisper falconem vel hobelum representat, sed plumis intentissimi viroris decoratur. Pectore rotundo et rostro adunco munitur, tante virtutis ut cum in cavea recluditur, effectus etiam domesticus, ex virgis ferreis domuncula eius contextatur. Duris enim ictibus et corrosioni rostri non possent resistere virge lignee. Linguam habet spissam et formationi soni vocis humane idoneam. Mire calliditatis est et in excitando risu preferendus histrionibus.

P. 112: Ciconia, que et crotalistria, rostris crepitantibus crotolans, horas diei distinguere perhibetur crepitatione sua. In hieme autem latet in aquis, sed verno tempore Naiadum regna linquens, sub divo degit clementioris aure leta salutatrix.

Still more striking are the parallels between both parts of the *Corrogationes* and the gloss in the Caius College MS., which, being essentially lexicographical, follows the same method in illustrating the use of words and explaining their meaning and etymology. French equivalents are freely given in the gloss,¹ as in the *Corrogationes*, and the two works are usually in close verbal agreement. Examples are²: Quoniam igitur effluentia tempora cicius effectum suum apparere faciant in illa regione capitis que gall. dicitur *temples* (p. 8; Meyer, p. 664). Equi fortes emissarii dicuntur gall. *estaluns* (p. 11; Meyer, p. 674). Commissa sunt pignora, gall. *encuru* (p. 12; Meyer, p. 677). Pincerne debet dici, Recense ciphum, gall. *Reschet cest hanap* (p. 13; Meyer, p. 666). Botrus est congregatio racemorum, racemus congregatio uvarum; botrus, gall. *muissine*, racemus *grape* (p. 15; Meyer, p. 674). Scorpio, *escurge* (pp. 16, 49; Meyer, p. 677). Examitus, gall. *samite* (p. 19; Meyer, p. 666). Criptas, gall. *crute* (p. 25; Meyer, p. 678). The gloss on Martial's murrina pocula (p. 28; Meyer, p. 667; cf. the use of the phrase in *De naturis rerum*, 1). Protectum = *apentiz* (p. 30; Meyer, p. 679). Taxare iudicis est, *amesurer* gall. (p. 36; Meyer,

¹ There are many French words in the gloss which are not in the *Corrogationes*. Examples are: nastilus, *butun* (p. 8); manipulum, *fanun* (p. 9); calx, *chauz* (p. 11); antidonum, *werdun* (p. 12); abdicare, *desavoer* (p. 13); lavatorium, *lavrur* (p. 14); capus, avis, *muschet*; cippus, *cep*; acceptifero, *clamer quite*; accipiter, *ostur*, ab australi parte veniens (p. 17); munium, *forcele*; matricuria, *custerere*; subula, *aleyne* (p. 18); catovolatilibus, *cheysil*; apote et antapote, *taile et contretaille*; instauramenta, *les estors de la mesun*; statera, *balance* (p. 20); locusta, *languste* (p. 21); classicum, *glas*; testudines, *voutes*, et dicuntur a testudine, gall. *limazun* (p. 25); serum, *mege*; sero, *enter* (p. 30); manutergium, *tuayle* (p. 33); musca, *musche*; rancor, *rancun*; sompnus, *dormir*; sompnia, *sunges*; catalaunensia, *chaluns* (p. 34); obses, *ostage*; superest, *remeynt* (p. 35); odorinsecos, *brachez* (p. 36); pilus, *pestel* (p. 37); palestris, *lute* (p. 38); municipium, *forcele*, munusculum, *benbelet* (p. 39); pedagium, *page*; larva, *visere* (p. 43); rostrum, *bec* (p. 44); cavea, *cage*; alvearia, *rusches* (p. 45); lurtisca, *lure* (p. 47); volumen, *parchemin* (p. 49); legare, *deviser*; satirici, quidam dii rurales, gall. *saleceus* (p. 50); fragum, *frese* (p. 51); operam, *entente* (p. 52); primum pilum, *baneur* (p. 55); cancellus, *chancel*. . . . item cancellus, *kenil* (p. 60). In some cases the scribe has left a blank space for the French word. An instructive study could be made of the French glosses to Neckam's works, especially those in the commentary on the *De nominibus utensilium*, where a collation of the MSS. has not yet been made. Cf. P. Meyer in the *Revue Critique*, 1868, II, pp. 295 ff., and in *Romania*, XXXVI, pp. 483-485.

² See also below, pp. 83, n. 4; 84, n. 2; 91, n. 1.

p. 674). Taxus pro arbore que gal. dicitur *yf* (*ibid.*; *Revue Critique*, 1868, II, p. 295). Macula est in oculo meo, g. *mayle est en le oyl* . . . Macula corporis est lesura, gall. *mayme* (p. 38; Meyer, pp. 673-74).

Examination of earlier lexicons would doubtless reveal the origin of the Latin portion of the greater part of these glosses, indeed the correspondence between the *Sacerdos ad altare* and any one of Neckam's writings might be explained on the ground of copying or the use of a common source; but such considerations are not sufficient to destroy the cumulative force of the argument. The close agreement of the text with the *De nominibus utensilium* and the *De naturis rerum*, and the exact correspondence of the gloss, in both Latin and French, with the *Corrogationes*, taken with the general similarities of style, point clearly to the conclusion that text and gloss are the work of one writer and that this writer is Alexander Neckam. This view is strengthened by considerations which show that both text and gloss were composed toward the close of the twelfth century¹ by one familiar with the schools of Paris, and that the gloss, at least, was written in England.

Let us begin with the gloss. Its author had studied at Paris, for he cites the *magistri Parisienses* on a question of etymology,² and knows the city even to its stench,³ and he gives as an example of a two days' journey the distance from Paris to a place which in the original was doubtless Orléans, as in the *Corrogationes*, but which the copyist, with strange disregard of space, has made into England.⁴ Yet our glossator is no Frenchman; he speaks of tournaments as the "sport of French

¹ Only further critical study can determine its chronological place among Neckam's works, whose dates have so far been but little investigated. In general it would seem that the grammatical works belong to the earlier period of his literary activity; the *Corrogationes* are certainly anterior to the *De naturis rerum*, in which they are cited (p. 16), and this is plainly earlier than its metrical paraphrase, the *De laudibus* (cf. Wright's introduction, p. lxxiv).

² He says (p. 15) apropos of the word *cassilide* in certain mss. of the Book of Tobit: Quidam autem qui in oculis suis scioli sunt capsilide dicunt; dicunt enim quod est dictio composita ex capsula et sedile. Magistri autem Parisienses dicunt cassilide a casse, quod est rethe.

³ P. 22: Unde, "Adveniente rota fetet Babilonia tota." Item dicitur (?) bene, Parisius Babilonia vult imitari in fetore suo.

⁴ P. 38: Sunt enim ab Anglicanis due diete Parisius. Cf. Meyer, *Corrogationes*, p. 667.

knights,"¹ and he lives near enough to Wales—Cirencester was in a border county—to use the Welsh wars as an illustration of fighting.² As he cites the decree of the Third Lateran Council forbidding tournaments as "detestable fairs,"³ he must have written after 1179, and as they are still a French custom to him, he probably wrote before their introduction into England by Richard I, in 1194.⁴

The text is, of course, not later than the gloss, and internal evidence assigns it to the same period. The most specific indices of date are afforded by the books enumerated under canon law and logic. The absence of any canonical works more recent than the decretals of Alexander III not only carries us back of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX

¹ P. 38: Troiana agmina a vulgo tormenta dicuntur ad differentiam hastiludiorum, que Alexander papa tercius detestabiles vocat nundinas. Item dici solent ab exercicio francorum militum. On the French origin of tournaments and the mediaeval opinion which derived them from the games described in the Aeneid, see DuCange, *Glossarium*, under *torneamentum*, and his sixth dissertation on Joinville. Neckam also refers to the *Troiana agmina* in the *De nominibus*, ed. Scheler, p. 70.

² P. 38, where after the passage concerning *oploma* printed by Meyer (*Corroga-tiones*, p. 667) he says: Unde Seneca in declamationibus (3, praef., 10), "Quidam cum oplomatis, quidam cum Tracibus bene pugnant" . . . sed pugna cum Tracibus vel cum Wallensibus non est imaginaria pugna sed vera, sicut illa que cum viciis fit. The same idea appears in a brief poem of Neckam addressed to Thomas, abbot of Gloucester (1179-1205), and preserved in a volume of extracts from Neckam's works, now in the library of the University of Cambridge (Gg. VI, 42, f. 223):

MAGISTER ALEXANDER DOMINO T. ABBATI CLAUDIE

Munus sed munusculum tibi mitto, Thoma,
Optans ut nec videas Romam nec te Roma,
Nec Romanum audias rursus ydioma.
Vix minus displiceat tibi vile scoma;
Romanorum oculos excecet glaucoma.
Revertentes felix nos reduxit diploma.
Claudie te teneat sancti claustrī doma;
Ibi corpus maceres, ibi carnem doma;
Pugnantem cum viciis te tegat oploma.

³ C. 20. Mansi, *Concilia*, XXII, p. 229.

⁴ Rymer, *Foedera* (Record edition), I, p. 65; Roger of Hoveden, III, p. 268. Cf. Ralph of Diceto, II, pp. lxxx-lxxxi, 120; William of Newburg, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, II, pp. 422-423.

(1234), but makes it improbable that the author wrote long after 1191, the latest date for the publication of the so-called *Compilatio Prima* of Bernard of Pavia, the earliest of the collections of decretals known as the *Quinque Compilationes*.¹ "Decretales Alexandri tertii" may have meant either some collection of that Pope's decretals made in his lifetime,² or the canons of the Lateran Council of 1179, or one of the collections composed under his immediate successors in which his letters still formed the dominant element³; but in any case the expression would not have been used more than a very few years after Alexander's time, inasmuch as the grouping of decretals by Popes very soon gave way to the arrangement by subjects which was universally followed from Bernard of Pavia on. Not earlier than Alexander III, the list of books on canon law cannot be much later than 1191.⁴

This conclusion is confirmed by the list of books given under logic, where besides the familiar apparatus of the twelfth century — the *Old* and *New Logic* and the lesser treatises which regularly accompanied them — we find the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, the *De generatione et*

¹ The limits for the *Compilatio Prima* are 1187 and 1191. Schulte, *Geschichte der Quellen des canonischen Rechts*, I, p. 82.

² Such as the collection in the British Museum described by Seckel, *Neues Archiv*, XXV (1899), p. 527.

³ The so-called *Collectio Casselana* (in Böhmer, *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Halle, 1747, II, Appendix, pp. 180 ff.) is entitled "Decretales Alexandri III in concilio Lateranensi tertio generali anno MCLXXIX celebrato editae," a title which fits only the first part of the compilation.

On the whole subject of the collections of this period see Schulte, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf Bernhard von Pavia*, in Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* (1873), phil.-hist. Kl., LXXII, pp. 481 ff.; Friedberg, *Die Canones-sammlungen zwischen Gratian und Bernhard von Pavia*, Leipzig, 1897 (with Seckel's review in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1897, coll. 658 ff.); Seckel, *Ueber drei Kanonessammlungen des ausgehenden 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *Neues Archiv*, XXV, pp. 521-537.

⁴ The line cannot be drawn sharply, for some time must be allowed for the spread of the newer collections. Stephen of Tournai, writing between 1192 and 1203, speaks of the "inextricabilis silva decretalium epistolarum" sold under the name of Alexander III, but he does not say that the "novum volumen," of which he complains, composed of papal letters and read in the schools of Paris, bore this Pope's name. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I, p. 47, No. 48. Seckel thinks the reference is most probably to the *Compilatio* of Bernard of Pavia (Hauck-Herzog, *Realencyklopädie*³, XVI, p. 292).

corruptione, and the *De anima*. Although the channels through which the *Metaphysics* and natural philosophy of Aristotle passed into western Europe are now fairly well understood,¹ the exact dates of their introduction have not been determined further than that they reached Paris, then the center of philosophical and theological speculation, about the year 1200. Certain it is that the *Metaphysics* is cited at second-hand by Peter of Poitiers, chancellor of the University of Paris, who died in 1205,² and by Simon of Tournai, who seems to have written before 1201, while the *De anima* was also known to Simon³ and is quoted by Absalom of St. Victor, who died in 1203.⁴ On the other hand, the public and private reading of Aristotle's books on natural philosophy and the commentaries upon them at Paris was forbidden by a provincial council in 1210,⁵ and the prohibition was repeated and extended to the *Metaphysics* by the statutes of the papal legate in 1215.⁶ They were

¹ The standard authorities upon the transmission of philosophical and scientific works through the Arabic are Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote* (new edition, Paris, 1843); Wüstenfeld, *Die Uebersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische, Abhandlungen* of the Göttingen Academy (1877), XXII; Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893); *Id.*, *Die europäischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Klasse, CXLIX, iv; CLI, i; *Id.*, *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* (Leipzig, 1897). This last book is a factitious collection (only twenty-four copies) of four monographs which appeared respectively in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beihefte 5 and 12; Virchow's *Archiv für Pathologie* (1891), CXXIV; *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik, historisch-litterarische Abtheilung* (1886), XXXI, pp. 81-110; and *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1896), L, pp. 161-219, 337-417.

² *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I, pp. 61, 71.

³ *Chartularium*, I, p. 71; Hauréau, *Histoire de la philosophie scholastique*, part 2, I, p. 59; *id.*, *Notices et extraits de quelques MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III, p. 256. On Simon's date see *Chartularium*, I, p. 45; Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, I, p. 179. Matthew Paris narrates as of 1201 the story of the miracle which is said to have ended his studies (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXVIII, p. 116).

⁴ *Chartularium*, I, p. 71. For the date of the abbot's death see *Gallia Christiana*, VII, col. 673. According to Hauréau, *Histoire de la philosophie scholastique*, part 2, I, p. 63, Neckam's *De nominibus utensilium* has a reference to the *De anima*.

⁵ *Chartularium*, I, p. 70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 78. The *Metaphysics* may have been included in the *libri naturales* condemned in 1210. See Luquet, *Aristote et l'Université de Paris* (Paris, 1904), pp. 20-27.

still under the ban in 1231, when Gregory IX decreed that they should not be used until they had been examined and purged from error¹; but they are found in general use shortly afterward,² and the whole of the new Aristotle appears in the arts course of 1255.³ The meagreness of the list in the *Sacerdos ad altare* as compared with the large number of Aristotelian and Pseudo-Aristotelian treatises prescribed in 1255 points to a much earlier date, while the prohibitions of 1210 and 1215 make it likewise anterior to 1210. Indeed, so far as the chronological considerations already urged carry weight, it would seem that the *Sacerdos ad altare* contains one of the earliest mentions of the *Metaphysics* and the *Parva naturalia* in Latin Europe.

The texts enumerated in other subjects do not yield chronological information of quite so definite a character, but they abundantly confirm the general conclusion that the list represents the learning of the twelfth century and not of the thirteenth. In medicine the author is familiar with the early translations from the Arabic, but not with Avicenna, whose influence dates from the thirteenth century; the omission of the *Versus Egidii*, composed by Giles of Corbeil, physician to Philip Augustus, likewise points to an early date.⁴ As compared with the texts prescribed in the earliest medical statutes, those of Paris between 1270 and 1274,⁵ Naples in 1278, and Salerno in 1280,⁶ the most important difference is the inclusion of Alexander of Tralles and of *materia medica* as represented in the works of Dioscorides and the so-called Macer. *Johannicius*, Hippocrates, Galen and the *Pantegni* are also mentioned in our list and not in these statutes, but no inference can be drawn from the absence of these names from the statutes, where they may have been included under the *ars medicinae*, a phrase which

¹ *Chartularium*, I, p. 136.

² Notably in the works of Guillaume d'Auvergne, Jourdain, *l. c.*, pp. 288-299; Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, p. 200. See also Hauréau, in *Notices et extraits des MSS.*, XXXI, 2, p. 288; and Roger Bacon, in Rashdall, *Universities*, II, p. 754.

³ *Chartularium*, I, p. 277. The *De anima* appears in 1252 in the statutes of the English Nation (*ibid.* I, p. 227).

⁴ On Egidius see the note in the Paris *Chartularium*, I, p. 517; and the introduction to Rose, *Egidii Corboliensis Viaticus* (Leipzig, 1907).

⁵ *Chartularium*, *l. c.*

⁶ De Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana* (Naples, 1852), I, p. 361; Haeser, *Geschichte der Medizin* (Jena, 1875), I, p. 829, where the date is wrongly given as 1276.

apparently designated a well-known series of treatises rather than any particular work.¹

In mathematics and astronomy the author of the *Sacerdos ad altare* knows only Euclid and the astronomical compendium of Alfraganus, which were put into Latin in the earlier part of the twelfth century,² and Ptolemy's *Canons*; but he does not mention the *Almagest*, of which the first complete translation was made in 1175,³ or any of the mathematical works of the early thirteenth century.

In grammar we find only the well-known texts of the earlier Middle Ages, Donatus and Priscian and Remigius of Auxerre, with no mention of the popular works of the thirteenth century, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu, composed in 1199, or the *Grecismus* of Evrard of Béthune, which appeared in 1212.⁴

But if our list represents in general the learning of the twelfth century and not that of the thirteenth, it still belongs to the last

¹ *Chartularium*, I, p. 517: Debet audivisse bis artem medicine ordinarie et semel cursorie, exceptis urinis Theophili, quas sufficit semel audivisse ordinarie vel cursorie. Rashdall, *Universities*, I, p. 429, identifies this *Ars medicine* with the *Ars parva* or *Tegni* of Galen. But it plainly includes the *De urinis* of Theophilus and seems to denote a regular certain set of treatises which students were in the habit of using. The language of the Naples and Salerno statute is still clearer in support of this view: Teneatur baccalarius audivisse bis ordinarie ad minus omnes libros artis medice, exceptis urinis Theofili et libro pulsum Filareti, quos sufficit audivisse semel ordinarie vel cursorie (De Renzi, I, p. 362). The title *Ars medicine* occurs in various library catalogues (e. g. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS.* III, p. 66), and the Erfurt library contains examples of an *Ars commentata*, copied in 1260 and 1288, which contains the treatises of Philaretus and Theophilus, the *Johannicius*, the *Tegni*, and the *Aphorismi* and *Pronostica* of Hippocrates. Mss. F 264 and F 285, Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung*, pp. 172, 192.

² On the translations of Euclid see Weissenborn, *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, hist.-litt. Abth., XXV; and Steinschneider, *ibid.*, XXXI. On Alfraganus (al-Fergani) and his translators see Mädler, *Geschichte der Himmelskunde* (Braunschweig, 1873), I, pp. 91-93; Wüstenfeld, *Uebersetzungen*, pp. 26, 63; Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber* (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik, X), p. 18; Steinschneider, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1892, pp. 55-56, and his *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, pp. 554-556.

³ Wüstenfeld, *l.c.*, p. 64; Rose, in *Hermes*, VIII, p. 334; Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*³, I, p. 907. The date is queried by Steinschneider, *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., CXLIX, 4, p. 19.

⁴ See Reichling's introduction to his edition of the *Doctrinale* (Berlin, 1893).

quarter of its century and not to an earlier age. Apart from the decisive indications afforded by the mention of the *Decretals* of Alexander III and the *Metaphysics* and natural philosophy of Aristotle, it is plainly subsequent to the *Eptateuchon* of Thierry of Chartres, composed between 1141 and 1155 and itself in many respects far advanced for its time.¹ In the studies of the trivium there is substantial agreement, although Thierry does not have Remigius, Apuleius, or the "Apodoxim"²; but when we come to geometry, we find that Thierry knows only Boethius and the *agrimensores*, and in astronomy, though apparently in close relations with Spain, he is restricted to the *Canons* and *Tables* of Ptolemy.³

The respectable list of classical authors which our text contains also points to the twelfth century rather than the thirteenth, when dialectic had driven the poets, historians, and moralists of ancient Rome from the curriculum in arts.⁴ In the contest between the humanists and the logicians, Neckam is on the whole to be reckoned on the side of the humanists, not only by reason of his familiarity with the Roman poets but also because of the contempt he expresses for the subtleties of scholastic reasoning.⁵ In the *De naturis rerum* and the *Corrogationes* he quotes frequently and often at some length from Lucan, Ovid, Virgil, Claudian, Juvenal, Martial, Statius, and Horace. He also draws largely from Solinus, and cites Pliny, Cicero, and Macrobius. How much farther his classical knowledge went, cannot be determined without a study of his unprinted works, and even then we cannot be sure to what extent he relied upon collections of extracts⁶ or upon citations in

¹ Analyzed by Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au Moyen-Âge*, pp. 221 ff.

² The *Posterior Analytics* (*apodoxim*) was apparently first used in France by John of Salisbury. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*², pp. 533, 539. Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, p. 293, speaks of the period before it was known at Paris.

³ He knows, but does not here use, the *Planisphere*.

⁴ This is seen in the earliest university curriculum in arts, the Paris course of 1215 (*Chartularium*, I, p. 78). Cf. Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, p. 758; Rashdall, *Universities*, I, pp. 71, 433; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, II, pp. 725-726; Paetow, *The Neglect of the Ancient Classics at the Early Mediaeval Universities*, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences* (1908), XVI, pp. 311-319.

⁵ *De naturis rerum*, pp. 302 ff.

⁶ Such as the Paris collection described by Wölfflin, *Philologus*, XXVII, p. 153; cf. Norden, *l.c.*, II, p. 720.

Priscian and similar works.¹ For the same reason we cannot be certain how many of the writers mentioned in the *Sacerdos ad altare* were really known to its author, and we must be careful not to take the list too literally as representing what was actually read in the schools of Neckam's day. The number of authors is naturally less than the number of those cited by the most learned classical scholar of the preceding generation, John of Salisbury,² who is particularly full on the side of the historians; but save for the mention of Martial and the omission of Persius, the list of poets stands in substantial agreement with the more ambitious attempts of Conrad of Hirschau³ and Hugh of Trimberg.⁴ Of the ancient writers not mentioned in the text the gloss cites Persius, Claudian, Plautus,⁵ Terence,⁶ Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Macrobius, Prudentius, Fulgentius (*Mythologiae*), Chrysostom, and Martianus Capella.

As I have not been able to find another copy of the *Sacerdos ad altare*, the portion printed below is a faithful reproduction of the Caius College MS. Occasionally an obvious slip of the scribe has been corrected in the text, but in all such cases the MS. reading is given in a note.

(P. 47.) Scolaris liberalibus educandus artibus dipticas gerat quibus scitu digna scribantur. Ferat palmatoriam sive volariam vel ferulam qua manus puerilis leniter feriat ob minores excessus, virgis vero cedatur cum res id fieri desideraverit. Absint flagella et scorpiones, ne modum excedat castigando. Postquam alphabetum didicerit et ceteris puerilibus rudimentis imbutus fuerit, Donatum et illud utile morat (p. 48) litatis compendium quod Catonis esse vulgus opinatur addiscat et ab egloga Theodoli⁷ transeat ad egglogas bucolicorum, prelectis

¹ Cf. Abelson, *Seven Liberal Arts*, pp. 23, 39, note 2.

² Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis*, pp. 81-125. The list of historians which John's pupil, Peter of Blois, says he has read (*Chartularium Univ. Par.*, I, p. 29) has a suspicious resemblance to that given by his master in the *Polycraticus*, 8, 18. Cf. Rashdall, *Universities*, I, p. 65; Norden, *Kunstprosa*, II, p. 719.

³ *Conradi Hirsaugiensis Dialogus super Auctores*, ed. Schepss, Würzburg, 1889.

⁴ Huemer, *Das Registrum multorum auctorum des Hugo von Trimberg*, in *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., CXVI, pp. 145-190.

⁵ *Aulularia*, 400 (p. 41), and one or two doubtful citations.

⁶ P. 24: lacrimae pro gaudio (*Adelphoe*, 536-537).

⁷ On the popularity of the Eclogues of Theodulus in the Middle Ages, when they were closely associated with the *Disticha Catonis* and Avianus, see Manitius, in the *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, XVI, pp. 38-39, 233-235.

tamen quibusdā libellis informationi rudium necessariis. Deinde satiricos et ystoriographos legat, ut vicia etiam in minori etate addiscat esse fugienda et nobilia gesta eroum desideret imitari. A thebaide iocunda transeat ad divinam eneida, nec neggligat vatem quem Corduba genuit¹ qui non solum civilia bella describit sed et intestina. Iuvenalis moralia dicta in archano pectoris reservet, et Flacium nature summopere vitare studeat. Sermones Oracii et epistolas legat et poetriam et odas cum libro epodon. Elegias Nasonis et Ovidium metamorfoseos audiat² sed et precipue libellum de remedio amoris familiarem habeat. Placuit tamen viris autenticis carmina amatoria cum satiris subducenda esse a manibus adolescentium, ac si eis dicatur,

Qui legitis flores et humi nascencia fraga,³
frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.⁴

Librum fastorum non esse legendum nonnullis placet. Stacius Achilleidos etiam a viris multe gravitatis probatur. Bucolica Maronis et georgica multe sunt utilitatis. Salustius et Tullius de oratore et thuscanarum et de amicicia et de senectute et de fato multa commendatione digni sunt et paradoxe. Liber inscriptus de multitudine deorum⁵ a quibusdam reprobatur. Tullius de officiis utilissimus est. Martialis totus et Petronius⁶ multa continent in se utilia sed multa auditu indigna. Simachi breve genus dicendi admirationem⁷ parit. Solinum⁸ de mirabilibus mundi et Sydonium et Suetonium et Quintum Curcium et Trogium Pompeium⁹ et Crisippum¹⁰ et Titum Liphium commendo,

¹ Here the gloss says (p. 50): Corduba est nomen civitatis de qua oriundus est Seneca, et inde Lucanus Cordubanus nomen accepit. Et nota quod Lucanus non ponitur in numero poetarum quia historiam composuit et non poema. Cf. *De naturis rerum*, pp. 309, 337. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*², p. 550, note, omits Lucan from his list of the authors mentioned in this text.

² Ms. audeat.

³ Ms. fragra, but the gloss has fraga.

⁴ Virgil, *Bucol.* 3, 92-93.

⁵ I. e. *De natura deorum*.

⁶ According to Manitius, *Rheinisches Museum*, XLVII, Erg.-heft, p. 57, citations of Petronius are rare in France in the Middle Ages.

⁷ Ms. admiracioni. Cf. the passage printed above, p. 81; and the *De naturis rerum*, p. 94.

⁸ Solinus is freely used in the *De naturis rerum*. On his popularity in the Middle Ages see Manitius, in *Rh. Mus.* XLVII, Erg.-heft, pp. 78-79; and in *Philologus* XLVII, pp. 562-565; LI, pp. 191-192.

⁹ Justin is generally so styled in mediaeval catalogues. Manitius, *Rh. Mus.* XLVII, Erg.-heft, p. 38.

¹⁰ This name presents a problem, since, even if the author could have known of the philosopher Chrysippus, he would have had no reason for inserting his name

sed Senecam ad Lucillum (p. 49) et de questionibus phisicis et de beneficiis relegere tibi utile censeas. Tragediam ipsius et declamationes legere non erit inutile.

(P. 52.) Gramatice daturus operam audiat et legat barbarismum Donati et Prisciani maius volumen cum libro constructionum¹ et Remigium et Priscianum de metris et de ponderibus et duodecim versibus Virgilii et Priscianum de accentibus, quem tamen multi negant editum esse a Prisciano, inspiciat diligenter.

Secundo inter liberales artes invigilare desiderans audiat librum cathegoricorum sillogismorum editum a Boecio et thopica eiusdem et librum divisionum et ysagogas Porphiri et cathegorias Aristotilis et librum periarmenias² et librum elenchorum et priores analetichos et apodoxim³ eiusdem et topica et topica Ciceronis et librum periarmenias Apuleii. Inspiciat etiam methafisicam Aristotilis et librum eiusdem de generatione et corrupcione et librum de anima.

(P. 53.) In rethorica educandus legat primam Tullii rethoricam et librum ad Herrennium et Tullium de oratore et causas Quintiliani et Quintilianum de oratoris institucione.

Institutis arsmetice informandus arsmeticam Boecii et Euclidis⁴ legat. Postea musicam Boecii legat. Sic [sic] a regulis gramatice transeat quis ad maximas dialetice, dehinc ad communes locos rethorice, postmodum ad aporismata arismetice, postea ad axiomata musice.

(P. 54.) Deinde ad theoremata geometrie que ordine artificiosissimo disponit Euclides in suo libro.⁵

among the historians of his list. Sandys conjectures Hegesippus, a plausible emendation in view of his appearance among the historians enumerated by John of Salisbury (*Polycraticus*, 8, 18) and Peter of Blois (*Chart. Univ. Par.* I, p. 29). I am inclined, however, to read "Crispum," under which name Sallust is cited by John of Salisbury (*Pol.* 3, 12). This might easily have been changed to "Crisippum" by a scribe who knew the name from the Roman satirists. Our author may have thought Sallust and Crispus distinct persons, which would not be surprising in view of a similar error on the part of the best classicist of the age, John of Salisbury, who makes two historians out of Suetonius Tranquillus; or he may have used the two words merely for variety, as in the case of Ovid and Naso. The repetition of Sallust's name is natural here, since it is obviously as an orator and moralist that he is mentioned with Cicero above.

¹ Here a space of six letters is left blank.

² A common mediaeval form for the *De interpretatione*.

³ Sandys, in *Hermathena*, XII, p. 440, takes some pains to show that *apodoxium*, as he reads the word, is a corruption of ἀποδείξεων and denotes the *Posterior Analytics*. The matter is perfectly plain from the *De naturis rerum*, p. 293, where *apodixis* is used as a synonym for the *Posterior Analytics*, if not from the gloss (p. 53): *Apo-diptica appellatur res demonstrativa que tractatur in libro priorum (posteriorum?) analeticorum ab Aristotile*.

⁴ It is not clear why Euclid is mentioned here.

⁵ Cf. *De naturis rerum*, p. 299: secundum artificiosam Euclidi dispositionem.

Demum ad canones Tholomei accedat astronomie secretis daturus operam. In artem vero quam subtilissime ediscerit Tholomeus ysaogogas scripsit compendiosas Alfraganus.

Studium medicine usibus filiorum Ade perutile subire quis desiderans audiat Ihohannicum¹ et tam aphorismos quam pronostica Ypocratis et tegni² Galieni et pantegni. Huius operis auctor est Galienus sed translator Constantinus.³ Legat etiam tam particulares quam universales dietas Ysaac et librum urinarum⁴ et viaticum Constantini⁵ cum libro urinarum et libro pulsuum⁶ et Dioscoriden et Macrum in quibus de naturis herbarum agitur⁷ et libros Alexandri.⁸

In ecclesiastico iure informandus legat Burcardum et canones seu decreta Graciani⁹ et decreta Yvonis et decretales Alexandri tertii.

¹ The Latin name of the *Isagoge in artem parvam Galeni* of Honein ben Ishak, probably one of the earliest works translated into Latin from the Arabic. Cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebersetzungen*, pp. 709 ff.; and Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, CXLIX, iv, p. 54; Rose, *Hermes*, VIII, p. 338.

² I. e. Τέχνη. The *Tegni* is cited in the *De naturis rerum*, p. 267.

³ The real author of the general text-book of theoretical and practical medicine known under the Latin title of *Pantegnum* was Ali ben el-Abbas, an Arabic physician of the tenth century. See Wüstenfeld, *Die Uebersetzungen arabischer Werke*, pp. 12-16; Haeser, *Geschichte der Medizin*, I, p. 576; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebersetzungen*, p. 669. On the translations of Constantinus Africanus see the elaborate monograph of Steinschneider, in Virchow's *Archiv für pathologische Anatomie* (1866), XXXVII, pp. 351-410; and cf. Pagel, in Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (Jena, 1902), I, pp. 643 ff.

⁴ Of the four treatises of the Jewish physician Isaac translated by Constantinus, the *Liber februm* is here omitted. On Isaac's works cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebersetzungen*, pp. 755 ff.

⁵ The original of the *Viaticum* was the work of Ibn el-Dschezzar, a pupil of Isaac. Steinschneider, in Virchow's *Archiv*, XXXVII, pp. 363 ff., and *Hebr. Uebersetzungen*, p. 703; Dugat, in *Journal Asiatique* (1855), 5, I, pp. 289 ff.

⁶ Probably the works of Theophilus are meant.

⁷ Macer is the second title of a work *De naturis herbarum* probably written by Odo of Meung-sur-Loire. There is some doubt as to its date. See Rose, in *Hermes*, VIII, p. 63; and Manitius, in *Philologus*, LI, p. 171 (= LII, p. 545), and in *Mitt. Gesells. Erziehungsgeschichte*, XVI, pp. 251-253. Macer and Dioscorides are mentioned in the *De naturis rerum*, p. 275.

⁸ Alexander of Tralles. On his writings see Bloch in Puschmann's *Handbuch*, I, pp. 535-544.

⁹ Here the gloss reads: Decreta Gratiani dicuntur decreta que tantum modernis sunt in usu, que ultimo composita sunt a Gratiano et autentica (?) a sede Romana ita quod alia ab aliis composita publice legerentur, ut cum dicitur, Iste legit decreta, semper intelligendum Gratiani que sola approbata sunt a sede apostolica. . . . Sed decreta que Yvo composuit et Burcardus omnino recesserunt de aula nisi ea que inde sumuntur a Gratiano in suis decretis.

(P. 55.) Iuris civilis periciam volens quis addiscere primo institutis institutionum informetur, apices vero iuris intelligere volens audiat codicem Iustiniani et utrumque digestorum volumen et tres partes et forzatium.¹ Decimum autem librum codicis et undecimum cum duodecimo vix presumit quis legere pre nimia sui difficultate.²

(P. 56.) Celestem paginam audire volens, vir maturi pectoris, audiat tam vetus instrumentum quam novum testamentum. Non solum penthateuchum audiat set etiam eptatheucum, scilicet librum geneseos et exodum, leviticum, numeros et deuteronomium, Iosue et iudicum. Audiat postea Ruth et librum regum et librum paralipomenon qui et liber dierum dicitur ab Ebreis. Audiat Hesdram et Neemiam et Tobyam, Iudith et Hester. Felix erit si in noticiam venerit prophetice doctrine que in Ethe,³ Ysaya, Ieremya et Daniele et in libro duodecim prophetarum continetur. Pascet pias meditationes mentis liber Iob. Accedat etiam ad librum parabolarum Salomonis et ad ecclesiastem et ad cantica canticorum. Utilis etiam erit auditu tam liber sapientie qui Philonis dicitur quam ecclesiasticus quem conditum esse a Iesu filio Sirach perhibent. Liber⁴ Machabeorum prelia Iude et Ionathe fratris eius et Symonis explicabit. Quam vero sit utilis liber psalmodum nemo satis fideliter verbis posset explicare. Novum autem testamentum audire quis desiderans audiat Matheum cum Marco, Lucam et Iohannem, epistolas Pauli cum canonicis epistolis, actus apostolorum, et apochalipsim Iohannis.

¹ I. e. *infortiatum*, the mediaeval name for the portion of the Digest extending from 24, 3, to 35, 2, 82, where the *Tres partes* begins.

² The last three books of the Code, treating of the administrative law of the later empire, were naturally less important and less intelligible in the Middle Ages than the other books. Under the title of *Tres Libri* they were commonly grouped with the treatises which made up the *Volumen parvum*, and occupied a subordinate place in the course of legal instruction.

³ So in MS.

⁴ Ms. leber.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MOTION IN ARCHAIC GREEK SCULPTURE¹

BY CHANDLER RATHFON POST

INTRODUCTION

THE accusation is justly brought against critics of art that they have much upon their lips such expressions as "beautiful lines," "graceful draperies," "delicacy of touch," "rhythm of movement," but when submitted to cross-examination, fall under the condemnation of an inability to define these hypothetical qualities of monuments of art. Not only are the legion of artistic monographists baneful in convincing a not inconsiderable number of readers, who have perhaps never thought before of a picture or statue, that they may acquire a reputation for knowledge of art if they can but let slip glibly some remembered bit of critical cant; but in the present era of tinkling cymbals it is pernicious for anyone to fill his throat with hollow strains and add to the general bedlam. Art criticism thus defeats her single mission, which is to educate the public taste. Instead of clarifying, by vague terminology she obfuscates the popular mind. It is of no avail for the critic, placing absolute confidence in his heaven-bestowed talent of perceiving at a glance the excellence of a masterpiece, to decline to probe further, but he must recognize and analyze the constituents of this excellence, until he has shown his readers how to discern and understand for themselves. Whatever else one may believe of Ruskin, this preëminent virtue, at least, the candid and unprejudiced reader must grant him — an earnest, unfaltering desire to make art and the things of the spirit tangible and within reach of the people. Lacking the attribute of complicated color, sculpture even more than painting loses in definiteness at the hands of would-be connoisseurs; and the present article on archaic Greek sculpture seeks to avoid the stigma resting on modern

¹ This article is the monograph written by the holder of the Charles Eliot Norton Fellowship in 1904-05, in fulfilment of the conditions of that Fellowship.

art criticism by an attempt at the concreteness of Ruskin, in tracing the evolution of the many elements in the expression of motion that combine to produce so life-endued and life-imparting a monument as the frieze of the Parthenon.

This development is parallel to a gradual victory over the general obstacles that beset the sculptor's task. Three in particular must be noted. First, the primitive sculptor was confronted by the same difficulty as all creators of representative art: even if, shaking off the fetters of his immature technique, he had been able to depict all the contortions that he saw in a certain position of his model, how could he be sure that he had observed all the details of the movement or that the spectators of his statue would have discerned the same points in their experience with actual facts that he himself had seen fit to embody in his work? Indeed, the majority of mankind might never have noticed that particular position which he had chanced to see and therefore to represent. Secondly, with special reference to sculpture, there was the difficulty of his material. The human body is an intricate complication of separated parts of various substances, each working for itself and with the others, all combining their respective individual movements into a unified, active whole; stone, a single, continuous substance, lacks this manifoldness of motion and is at the same time unelastic. Cramped by his medium, the sculptor must at the start apprehend that even if he succeeded in the task, itself arduous, of producing a faithful facsimile of nature in a certain position, in the end the figure might still seem only a block of the strange, hard substance from which it came. Again, whereas in actual experience an aspect of a movement endures only an infinitesimal part of a second, and the several parts of the body concerned in an action are in a ceaseless change of position, the sculptor, so to speak, uses his experience with reality as a stop-watch: he touches the spring at a certain instant of his perception and fixes the phase of the movement at that instant, forever. A real thing is seen to move from place to place, accomplishing something by its movement, but the statue, once posed, never stirs, never completes the action in the midst of which it labors. Thus the sculptor has this third task imposed upon him, that he must beguile our fancies into the belief that the figure before us is so poised only for the second, that the next tick will show it in a different attitude.

The study of archaic Greek sculpture reveals the artist struggling with these hindrances. His methods are at first crude and far from final; but step by step we shall see him emancipating himself from unsatisfactory devices and, at first gropingly and experimentally, in the end firmly and intelligently, arriving at the true solution. This solution is attained by a realization of the proper aim of art, in a word, the elimination of the element of chance. From the plenitude of impressions that fall to his lot, he chooses the most characteristic of those that experience has taught us to recognize as the signs of a specified activity, or to use the term which will recur constantly in this article, the significant factors of that movement.¹ If the movement is an ordinary one, he will choose for representation those factors which according to his instinct, experience, and judgment, he deems most widely characteristic of that movement and most easily apprehended; if extraordinary, he will choose such factors as he considers best suited, from their relation to commoner movements, to convey most naturally and most readily the conception that it is his purpose to express. He dares not limit his work to the reproduction of a single experience with the specified activity. He must observe and ponder over that activity under all aspects, and from his study of all cases choose those significant factors which are universally typical of that movement. At first the energy that the sculptor must spend to produce a form that approximates reality permits him no more than this presentation of the most significant factors; and it happens almost inevitably that the early workman, having by might and main succeeded in the expression of two or three factors, half wearily, half admiringly, repeats them again and again.

With an increasing technical ability he has effort to spare upon attempts to pose his statue or group so that as many as possible of the significant factors may be seen most advantageously from a given point. He has leisure to think not only whether by significant factors he is transmitting the sensation of reality, but whether the significant factors are beautiful. He can present the lovely points of significance with such skill that he may indulge himself so far as to exclude the ugly, however important for the expression of movement. Thus we shall

¹ For a discussion of these factors in early Florentine art, cf. B. Berenson, *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance*, second edition, New York, 1903, pp. 50-56.

note a gradual relaxation of the significant spread of the legs and a rejection of the incongruous juncture of the upper and lower halves of the body as a means of emphasizing violent motion. Finally with the mastery of Aegina or Olympia the artist can stop to compress the greatest number of significant factors into a single representation; or at times, though in actuality all these significant factors do not appear simultaneously, even to take a step in advance of reality. He must in some way surmount the limitations of his art. The sculptor does not deal with creatures of flesh and blood but with dead material, so that he must exert himself with greater force and versatility. The difficulty that compels him to fix permanently the moment of transition is partly overcome, if he can crowd into the representation of a single instant some of the significant factors in the successive phases of an unfolding movement. Whereas in actuality two or three factors of slight importance might, through the rapidity and excitement of the occurrence, intimate sufficiently the fact of motion, for the critical, measured examination of a piece of sculpture more numerous and stronger indications are likely to be demanded.

It is my purpose in this article to follow Greek sculpture through these stages in the expression of movement—to trace in the earliest monuments the abnormal and unsuccessful devices, in the later the rejection of these for really significant and beautiful factors, and finally the compression of as many as possible of these factors into a single production. The period covered extends from the first grotesque and battered fragments to the Aeginetan and Olympian pediments, which form a convenient goal as presenting the significant factors of motion in their full development and still retaining a portion of that vague loveliness which we fondly call archaism. In the order of treatment there is no pretence at chronological accuracy or at a new theory of dating. The different monuments are divided into two great groups, the first of which is characterized by methods in the expression of movement clearly antecedent to the second. The arrangement within the groups needs little comment. In the first the Ionic sculptures¹ are taken up before

¹ I employ the terms Ionic and Doric, for the sake of a convenient arrangement, in the traditional sense. In actual fact, however, the more in studying Greek sculpture I take into consideration that Phidias, Scopas, and many others worked both in Ionic and Doric territory, and the more I perceive strong similarities in execution in

the Doric, as presenting the primitive characteristics more patently; the frieze of the Cnidian Treasury at Delphi is relegated to the end, out of its connection with the other Ionic sculptures, because its earlier portions sum up adequately the general characteristics of the first group,¹ and the diversity of style between its earlier and later portions offers a convenient transition from the more primitive to the more advanced group. In this second group there is an analogous division into Ionic and Doric monuments, and the Aeginetan and Olympian sculptures are reserved until the end as constituting a climax.

This essay will, I trust, avoid the common charge of indefiniteness, because in tracing the origin and development of the several significant factors through this series of productions, it should render concrete the reasons for the poorness or the excellency of a work of art in at least the one detail of movement. It will not be utterly worthless if the reader, by studying the significant factors in evolution and in the smaller numbers in which they necessarily occur in the less developed sculptures, is enabled so to detect them in more mature works that he can appreciate those works intelligently, and when he stands before the Parthenon frieze, himself feeling only enjoyment, estimate at its proper worth the long, painful history of plodding but faithful labor that made possible such perfection.

I. THE MORE PRIMITIVE GROUP

A. IONIC MONUMENTS

(a) *The Assos Reliefs*

The Assos sculptures² form a convenient beginning in that they offer unmistakable examples of what are probably the first stages of the

such widely separated monuments as the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia and those of the Parthenon, the more am I convinced that such a division into schools is ungrounded and arbitrary.

¹ For this same reason, I have inserted here a very brief discussion of the poros fragments upon the Acropolis.

² The struggle with Triton and the Banquet are reproduced in the Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkmäler gr. und röm. Sculptur*, pl. 411; the other references are to the plates in J. T. Clarke's *Report on the Investigations at Assos*, I, Boston, 1882; II, New York, 1898.

primitive devices. If our interest is vigorous enough to penetrate the barriers of a dull griminess of hue, of a low and indistinct relief, and of an archaic inexactness which is here unaffectedly ugly, it will be tickled somewhat in payment by the ease with which it seizes upon a salient characteristic of the frieze,—the exaggerated magnitude of the leg. The disparity of size between waist and leg is immediately discerned in the Nereids¹; the bulk of the two human forelegs of the Centaurs² fleeing before the bow of Heracles is even more inordinate, and the raised inner leg is one third longer and somewhat broader in relief than the less violently agitated outer. The case of Heracles himself is still more noteworthy. The figure of the demigod stalking down the infuriated companions of Pholus exhibits the same exaggeration of legs as the Centaurs themselves; but the peculiarity is more conspicuous in his struggle with Triton, where the strained and supporting inner leg is again longer than the outer. Various explanations for this thoroughly consistent emphasis upon the leg readily suggest themselves, such as the subordination of some part of the body in order to cramp the figures into the narrowness of the epistyle, or an attempt to express the expanded muscles, or more generally, without resorting to any specific intent on the part of the sculptor, the primitive inaccuracy of technique; but further examination and the added testimony of many other archaic reliefs will tend to prove that although the foregoing considerations are not negligible, the determining reason is a desire to make conspicuous what the artist deems the centre of motion.

The primitive sculptor, we have seen, was confronted by the same problems as the modern, except that he had to approach them unaided by the accumulated experience of three thousand years. That this experience is not always an asset is attested by the monstrosities of perfect anatomy and aesthetic nonentity that two years ago made the visitor to the Milan Exposition regret that the fire had spared the Fine Arts Building; but if the archaic solutions are at first acquaintance ludicrous, the modern critic should not be too ready to forget the lack of experience and to prate superciliously about the

¹ As I shall suggest later, there seems to be some ground for believing these figures women rather than men.

² Illustrations of the slabs mentioned in the immediate connection may be found in Clarke, II, figs. 35 and 37.

untutored primitive intellect. And incongruous at least is the solution of the bungling sculptor of Assos,¹ who is primitive even beyond the standard of his times! He realizes too keenly the conventional difficulties of his trade. How can he know that the significant factors which he himself has chosen to arouse the sensation of motion will coincide with the universal experience of others? How can he produce the illusion of movement in a simple piece of hard and unelastic stone? And indeed, how can any fixed bit of inanimate nature imitate the ever-changing aspects and motions in a quivering animal or human being? Surely it does not suffice to carve exactly what he sees; he must in some way counterbalance the limitations of his medium. The logical step is easy; he must make the active parts more conspicuous than reality itself; and how can he better draw attention to these parts than by exaggerating their size? The resulting figure may be somewhat remote from actuality, but then, most stationary representations of his time are rather queer looking things, one inconsistency more or less will not much matter; and at any rate, is not the chief aim the expression of the action in the episode? It is hard enough to achieve that, and he has little energy left to expend upon aesthetic detail. Where the classically perfect sculptor, combining in one position as many significant factors of successive instants as possible, so poses his figure that the on-looker is struck at any given point by the greatest number of these factors, as in the struggling Deidamia of the Olympian West Pediment,² or where the Hellenistic sculptor relies upon the wriggling mesh of correctly delineated muscles, as in the kneeling giant crushed by Athena in the Pergamon frieze,³ the stone-cutter of Assos, neither possessing or

¹ With Collignon (*Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, I, p. 184, note 3) and Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, VIII, p. 257) I disagree with Clarke, who assigns these sculptures to the first half of the fifth century. If we were to follow such arguments of Clarke's as the statement (II, p. 160) that because of the beardless Heracles the reliefs cannot be earlier than the fifth century, we should be forced to neglect altogether the possibility of the sculptor's individual peculiarities, and by such a critical method, so prevalent among the modern Germans, we might assign Michelangelo's "Last Judgment," with its beardless Christ, to Byzantine times. The clumsy devices for the expression of movement point to the very beginnings of Greek sculpture; and I should be disposed to agree with Collignon's date, previous to 540 B.C.

² Cf. below, p. 161.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 484.

valuing a fine sense of proportion, and lacking a knowledge of anatomy, prefers to centre the mind upon the moving member by increasing its size, or in some cases he seems actually to be deluded into a belief that great movement involves great size.

The same tendency to utilize mere bulk as a symbol of importance and strength is further exemplified by the gigantic proportions of Heracles as compared, in the struggle of the demigod and Triton, with the panic-stricken Nereids or, in his so-called apotheosis, with the banqueters and with the serving Ganymede, so pitifully diminutive as to seem insufficient for the needs of his heroically proportioned masters. The sculptor again betrays his attitude under a somewhat different phase in the exaggerated spread of the forelegs of the stag as it is crushed under the force of the assailing lion; he seems to be ignorant of any other way to depict the powerful attack than by this violent distortion of the victim. The unpleasantness, or to say the least, the inadequacy of such a method is more apparent by contrast with the same subject upon an archaic frieze found at Xanthos,¹ where instead of relying on the effect of an extravagant spread in the two straight lines of the legs, the sculptor curves the forelegs of the stag gracefully and adds factors of folded skin at the neck and folded flesh between the thighs, produced by the oppressive onslaught of the lion. From an instinct similar to that which produced the distorted stag the hands of the Nereids at Assos are thrust clumsily forward into a conspicuous stiffness to be the exaggerated signals of extreme trepidation. The attitude of the legs in running, it will be seen later, is the result of a tenor of mind that bases its reliance rather upon large and striking effects than upon delicacy or beauty of choice.

The stress upon the legs as the centre of activity is natural for these fleeing Nereids and also for Heracles in pursuit of the Centaurs. In the posture of Heracles wrestling with Triton, perhaps an unconscious replica of the archaic attitude for Nike, the legs are physically more important, for unless they were firmly braced, the grasp of the arms would be of little avail to prevent the monster flopping Heracles around at will; and as the feet, which have nothing to hold upon, could be more easily dragged along than the entwining arms, it is fitting that their steadiness should be justified by representing them as more power-

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 104.

ful. In one of the bronze reliefs unearthed at Olympia¹ this myth is treated with the same general arrangement and with the same archaic lack of skill. There is even a greater exaggeration of the legs than at Assos; and in another representation of Heracles, upon the same tablet, in the less violent attitude of striking a blow, the smaller dimensions of the legs prove that the exaggeration in the former instance is intentional. There may be an advance over Assos in that the muscles of the inner leg are slightly outlined, but the deficiency at Assos may possibly be ascribed to the weather and to the lapse of centuries.

The whole theory of exaggeration is afforded a striking confirmation in the only three Centaurs of the frieze who have human forelegs. Assailed more directly than the Nereids by Heracles and unencumbered by feminine modesty, they are represented in a much more lively aspect of running: the legs are widely separated; the raised inner leg is sharply curved, and for that reason drawn disproportionately large. It is as if the sculptor had here consciously intensified the leap of the human half of the prodigy in a vain attempt to drag along the horse's thin body and absolutely immovable hind legs and tail.

The sculptor must indeed have placed a deal of reliance upon the impression of size, for he sometimes almost incredibly neglects what would seem the most palpable significant factors. The phenomenon just noted of complete immobility for the hinder half of the Centaur is further exemplified in the Centaurs whose upper body alone is human. Except that the tail is slightly raised, the stability of the hinder portion is as marked as that of the front portion; and there is an indication of primitiveness in that each set of legs is cramped into such a parallelism that the two forelegs, though raised and curved, move in a complete but impossible unison. The hind leaping from the onslaught of the lion is marred by the same parallelism of the forelegs, but here the immobility of the hinder half may be explained by the paralyzing force of the assailing beast. Another bronze plaque from Olympia depicting Heracles and a Centaur² presents a slight advance; the bent foreleg of the Centaur, though not uplifted, is still inordinately long and almost twice as broad as the other foreleg, but the parallelism of the hind legs

¹ *Olympia: Die Ergebnisse*, etc., IV, pl. XXXIX, 699a.

² *Olympia*, IV, pl. XXXVIII.

is distinctly broken and the tail is flying. At Assos itself there is a fragment of a metope¹ in which the hind legs of a Centaur are very slightly separated. Real animals, to be sure, are in general more successfully delineated at Assos than human beings; an excellent example is afforded by the fighting bulls.² This peculiarity, which we shall find characteristic of much archaic Athenian and Ionic sculpture,³ may be ascribed to the greater development, owing to a more frequent use, that forms of animals had attained in oriental art.

It is thus that the primitive sculptor rests content with the expression of motion through one or two significant factors. Exaggeration is his chief vehicle of expression. To the agitation of the forelegs of the Centaurs, at Assos, he adds only two things. First, he spreads out the arms more extravagantly and conspicuously than for the Nereids, drawing attention to them more legitimately than by exaggeration by a contrast between three variations in their attitude, so that on the whole this with the stalking Heracles is the least shocking portion of the frieze. Secondly, in the first Centaur he tilts the upper body backward, and in the second, as in Heracles who pursues him, forward out of the line of the legs. The expansion of the arms, unsuited as it is to facilitate speed in running, is probably to be traced to the influence of the archaic Nike type, in which, while the legs were thrown into a corresponding position, the arms were correctly stretched out with the wings to assist in the action of soaring. The agitation of the legs, to be sure, is constituted of several elements. Heracles bends his advanced leg into the initial stage of the position that we shall find characteristic for the standing warrior through the whole history of Greek sculpture; and the Centaurs lift the front foot very perceptibly to signify their speed. The Nereids, exhibiting some separation of the legs, but in two cases only a very slight elevation, and in no cases any curving, reveal either an attempt to differentiate between degrees of violence in the pace of the Nereids and the Centaurs or a more primitive stage of the development.⁴

¹ Clarke, II, fig. 39.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 412.

³ Cf. especially the chickens, pig, and cow of the Harpy Monument.

⁴ The retention of a more primitive stiffness may be a concession to Ionian conceptions of a proper feminine reserve. In the Harpy Tomb and other monuments there

The attitude for running deserves comment, as another indication that the sculptor, realizing the shortcomings of his technique, exaggerates the factors that he does dare to present. The ordinary later representation of running is well illustrated by a series of reliefs from Gjölbaschi in the same region. Here on the south outer wall of the monument¹ the runners touch the ground lightly with the toes of the gracefully bent foreleg, lifting and curving the back leg. Now it is true that the sculptor at Assos, as at Gjölbaschi, has chosen an actual aspect of the movement of running; but it is obtrusively evident that he has chosen a more exaggerated and less lovely aspect. The difference is that the earlier relief rests the weight upon the back foot, the later upon the forward; and forthwith in the earlier the spectator is annoyed that the conspicuous front leg, which as the first to catch his eye should have a fixed basis, itself protrudes, dangles into space, and does not constitute the support of the whole body. By its very oddity this position is doubtless a more emphatic, if less pleasing, expression of running and what we should expect from the primitive sculptor who relies for his effect rather upon magnitude of proportion and exaggeration of posture than upon a greater number of harmoniously combined significant factors.

The more we consider this artless manner of getting out of a difficulty, the more excusable it appears. The sculptor must in some way counteract the deficiencies of his undeveloped art. Things were bad enough as they were. He knew naught as yet of signalling motion by means of drapery. The great number of straight lines throughout the frieze grated upon his nerves unconsciously, especially when he compared them with the gracefully curving backs of actual horses or the undulating lines of the feminine form. Even where he had managed to bend legs and arms, there was something uncouth and unreal about it all.

is evidence of conservatism in giving adequate representation to the activity of women; and, if such a consideration may be pressed, the undoubted inferiority of this portion of the Assos frieze would lead me to decide the question of sex, which Clarke leaves unsolved, in favor of the Nereids. Inasmuch as Clarke in his second publication (p. 208) corrects his earlier assignment of feminine gender to the fleeing figure in one of the metopes (I, pl. 21), who is in the same extravagant posture as the Centaurs, there is nothing to militate against the theory.

¹ Benndorf and Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, Vienna, 1889, pl. XXIV, A 1 and 2.

If he could only have surmised the ungainliness of so many right or slightly obtuse angles! The stalking Heracles was tolerable, but the sculptor could not quite discern that it was because he had unconsciously eliminated much of this perpendicularity! And then the monotony of it all! Long rows of silly Nereids and clumsy Centaurs, almost identical except for variations here and there in the attitude of the arms! The repetition of motive perhaps would not have been so objectionable for the pure design of an architectural border. But as soon as the designer began to aim at realism, the repetition was certainly prejudicial to the representation of actual living creatures.

What bootied it after all? Wind-blown folds, fair curves of form, and unending variety would be of little avail against the last and most fatal convention that beset his path. Try as he would he could not fit together the head, body, and legs of his moving figures. Obligated to present the movement of the legs from the side, unable to break with the tradition that required the statue to face the spectator, and handicapped by defective technique, the sculptor, as I shall seek to explain at length in considering the archaic Nike,¹ took refuge in the incongruity of uniting at the Centaur's waist, without further ado, the exact profile of the lower body and the exact frontal² position of the upper; and desiring to show the interest of the participants in the episodes by turning their heads to the principal scene, and ignorant of how to make the proper transition from frontal chest to profile head, he fell into the additional incongruity of an impossible juncture at the neck. Strangely enough he seems to have developed consistency throughout the body for the otherwise defective Nereids, but here again he causes one of them to perform the astounding acrobatic feat of twisting her head absolutely around upon her shoulders. The anatomy of the shooting Heracles, in whose figure significant factors of motion find their best expression, is tolerably correct; but in the metope where he pursues a male figure, both are incongruously distorted.

¹ Cf. below, p. 114.

² I use this adjective to mean only that the figure faces the spectator; with no reference to Julius Lange's technical usage in *Darstellung des Menschen in der älteren griechischen Kunst*, Strassburg, 1894. Because of the technical meaning that has become attached to the noun "frontality" (Frontalität), I purposely avoid it.

How could the sculptor surmount these deficiencies? He looked at the figures on the temples round about him; they were poor, lifeless blocks of stone at best, not at all like the active beings of the busy Troad with whom his everyday life brought him into contact; perhaps he gazed despairingly at his own sketches. Well, if he could not approximate reality, he would at least make certain of one thing, — he would leave no doubt that he intended his miserable puppets to move; and lo, now he exaggerated the size of the moving member, now he chose an extravagant aspect of the movement itself. It is as if, with a sigh of relief at hard-earned achievement, he rested content with the emphatic expression of an idea through one significant factor.

(b) *The Archaic Nike*

The sculptor of a Nike was confronted, not only by the three limitations of the comparative narrowness of his own experience, the inflexibility of his material, and the necessity of depicting a transitory action as if it were a permanent state, but he must even represent in his hard medium a movement that is not merely extraordinary but absolutely beyond the realm of human experience. How can the craftsman delude us, who have never been blessed with the sight of one of our fellow creatures flying, into the belief that we are actually beholding this anomaly? Despite the difficulty of the undertaking and the impossibility of verification in empirical fact, the best art, whose high mission is always to infuse desire and confidence for greater achievements, has at all periods sought inspiration in the beings that its religion has endowed with this additional attribute of supernatural power, whether in the Victories of Greece or the angels of Christianity. Archermus and his contemporaries solved the problem very simply. Perceiving that in the animal world all flying creatures possessed wings, the popular imagination had bestowed these appurtenances upon its soaring deities; and the first duty of the artist was to imitate actuality by outspreading the wings. Or, to translate into technical language, if the artist wished to create the impression that the being whom he represented was really performing the action of flight, he employed the significant factor of wings outspread conspicuously.

Just here, another obstacle must be surmounted. Inasmuch as wings, being an extraordinary attribute, if they were hung in rest at the side,

would be likely to escape notice altogether, the sculptor would stretch wide the wings even of his stationary figures. So in the bronze plaque from Olympia with the Centaur that I have already discussed from the standpoint of exaggeration, the Artemis in the lower division, though she stands in rigid quietude, yet possesses four splendid wings spread over a wide expanse.¹ Again in representations of Hermes, such as in the apotheosis of Heracles upon the west frieze of the Cnidian Treasury, where the god stands placidly holding the horses of Athena's chariot, if his personality was to be recognized at all, it must be through his ordinary attribute, so that the wings of the heels, being in themselves small, should necessarily be outspread; and the Perseus of Temple C at Selinus, if the projections from his shins may be construed as wings and not as pieces of boots, would offer a flagrant example, for, in any case an extraordinary attribute, since they would here be not even the usual property of Perseus but a loan from Hermes, they would seem to have become so important that they were transferred from their accustomed situation at the heels to the more conspicuous, though more unnatural, growth from the shins.

The Harpy Monument² both furnishes a tangible recognition of the inadequacy of the mere expanse of wings as a method of arousing the sensation of movement, and forms a fitting prelude to the study of the Nike. From the interpretation of the scene and from their suspended position, the Harpies must be conceived in flight. With a greater sense of reality than we shall discern in Temple E at Selinus, abandoning the frontal position that he found in the single bronze figures of Harpies, the sculptor evolves a most significant factor by assigning to the Harpies the profile position, as if they were crossing the face of the relief and flying out; and inasmuch as the wings, if drawn out at the sides as in the frontal cases, in the profile position would appear only as mere lines on the surface and for the most part would probably pass unobserved, they are stretched out boldly behind. More technically, the sculptor chooses to present the significant factor of the wings at a moment more felicitous for his subject, at their extreme back position rather than when they have flapped into a

¹ Cf. Furtwängler's description in *Olympia*, Textband IV, pp. 100, 101.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 146-7.

line with the body. Since, however, as I have shown above, the mere vision of wings does not signal to the imagination with sufficient force the action of flight, and especially since the exigencies of bas-relief could scarcely allow even the most primitive sculptor to give any but the extreme backward position of the wings, the Harpies on the north side arouse little or no sensation of movement. By tradition outstretched wings have come to signify almost nothing more than the possession of such attributes. In the same fashion the numerous small bronze Harpies of our museums have slight significance except as dainty bric-a-brac.

It is therefore somewhat gratifying to find that on the south side of the monument the artist, as if realizing the lifelessness of his first attempts, has accumulated other significant factors. With the sculptor of Heracles and of the more human Centaurs at Assos he has learned that in any forward striving of the body the upper parts are likely to be bent into a more horizontal position, and again he has noticed that the larger birds in flight toss back their bodies into almost absolute parallelism to the ground, so that there will be less surface of resistance to the air than in the upright position of rest upon the branch or rock. At the south, then, he tilts forward the bodies of the Harpies very perceptibly. Whereas at the north the upright posture is foreign to violent movement, at the south a very vigorous sensation of flight is imparted; and inasmuch as the more horizontal position is common to moving men and birds alike, the incongruity of the union of human and animal natures is slightly mitigated and the value of the sculpture as a work of art correspondingly increased.

This distinct element of progress is corroborated by other details. At the north the wings are little more than two ungainly rectangles with a few lines scratched arbitrarily across them to symbolize the feathers, and each pair is guilty of the parallelism that I have discussed for the Centaurs' legs. At the south the inner wing of each pair, meeting the body of the Harpy at a different angle from the outer, acquires so great a prominence and seems to move so much as a separate entity that the whole sensation of movement is intensified. The sculptor signals to the onlooker that the wings do not denote conventionally the mere possession of these appurtenances but are both truly agitated. That he desires to attract more attention to the wings is indubitable,

for he has not only broken the stiff rectangles of the north and drawn the wings stouter and stronger, but he delineates them more delicately. At the north, in the Harpy at the right, the appearance of the curve of the body beneath the wings makes them seem so like transparent films that they almost dwindle into insignificance; at the south the wings possess a sturdy existence of their own. In the former instance the sculptor has designated the feathers only by a few scratched lines; in the latter on the Harpy at the right he has gone so far as to model carefully a row of feathers.

The progress in representation of movement at the south is extended to the simulacra of souls¹ which the Harpies bear in their arms. They conform to the greater horizontality of the birds' bodies. More precise technique and probably greater speed are denoted by the tighter clutch of the claws, itself signalled by the manner in which they catch the drapery closer up around the bodies of these dwarfed human figures. The soul held by the Harpy at the left of the north side is perhaps the most deficient. The drapery clings incongruously about the body in spots where no claw clasps it, and the lower claw does not enfold as much of the drapery as in the other instances. At the south the folds of the garments are more consistent, and especially in the case of the Harpy at the right, the superiority of which has already been indicated, the lines of the chiton are not treated with such angularity.

The sculptor of the early Nike² was able to evolve a different solution for the problem of the insufficient significance of merely outspread wings. He observed that the legs are not only a conspicuous part of human anatomy, but also that they are the ordinary instruments and hence the significant factors of our advance, and that it is nearly impossible to make any considerable movement without bringing them into play. In the case of a creature who is in every other respect like a human being, it was almost inevitable that the legs should be emphasized as significant aspects of the extraordinary action of flight. As birds in flight make no conspicuous use of their comparatively small

¹ I follow the conventional interpretation; cf. the new but somewhat extravagant explanation by O. S. Tonks, in *Am. Jour. Arch.* XI, 1907, pp. 321 ff.

² Since the whole series of archaic Victories constitutes so unified a class, I shall not make the same division as in the other monuments, but shall treat both the more and less developed examples in one section.

legs, the primitive artist of the south frieze of the Harpy Monument naturally chose for creatures with birds' bodies a significant factor especially characteristic of such bodies, that is, the slanting forward of the whole form; but for the Victories, whose bodies are perfectly human, the sculptor chose the significant human movement of the legs. It will not perhaps be unprofitable to trace briefly the development of these two factors of the wings and legs and the incipient stages of other factors.

The greater familiarity of the human aspect of the movement and the facility with which the sculptor could study it in actual models led him to emphasize rather the motion of the legs. The wings are likely to degenerate into merely conventional symbols of their own existence, marked and turned this way and that according to the whim of the individual artist. In virtually all the figures the wings are outspread; No. 6474 of the bronzes of the Central Museum at Athens¹ furnishes an exception in which the wings are lowered at rest. They vary in size from the merely ornamental curves of No. 6489 and the male figure of similar type, No. 6484, to the broad conspicuousness of such types as 6475 and especially 6480. There seems to be no consistent evolution from the use of scratched lines to designate feathers to the modelling of feathers in relief. Some of the less primitive in other respects, such as that upon which Collignon² comments, 6480, have only a drawn design upon a pair of extraordinarily large wings; whereas the more primitive figure, 6486, represents the several masses of feathers each ruffled separately by the wind. Among the first instances that there are of the curving forward of the tip of the left wing beyond the usual plane, as if in the actual undulation of flight, is 6482, where the great progress achieved is evinced by the keener sensation of movement experienced by the on-looker. The wing becomes much more conspicuous and the whole sensation of movement correspondingly livelier in those cases in which the arm is upraised and extended straight in the direction of the advance and in line with the wing, like a yard

¹ I shall use as examples principally the marble Nikes in the Acropolis Museum, and the bronze Nikes in the Central Museum (Athens), of which de Ridder (*Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'acropole d'Athènes*, II, Paris, 1896) furnishes convenient illustrations. Cross references from the Museum number to the number of the text may be found on p. 351.

² I, p. 140.

for a sail. It means the coöperation in the action of one more part of the body. The advantage of this detail is apparent by contrast with the cases in which the outstretched arm is not elevated in the slant, but curved up in the same plane with an artificial design, as in 6489 or in the two male figures 6484 and 6485 ; it is especially significant when, as in 6476, the palm is spread out like a fan. When the curve is slight, as in 6483, or when, although the forward arm does not slant upward, both arms are stretched out in one long straight line, as in 6487, the intent is doubtless to represent soaring. When winglets appear just above the ankles they are little more than ornamental symbols.

The manipulation of the more efficiently significant factor of the legs furnishes an interesting corroboration of the principle of exaggeration in archaic sculpture. It will be found that the very primitive metopes of Temple C at Selinus rely for impression of movement almost wholly upon an inordinate separation of the legs. The modeler of the early Nike was forced by his defective technique into the same exaggeration as an only refuge. The peculiarity is especially apparent in the right angle which the upper leg, inordinately elevated, forms with the trunk. The primitive tendency toward right angles has already been mentioned for Assos, and its clogging effect will be discussed for the early stages of production at Selinus. It is pertinent to note that the extravagant spread occurs in those figures that in other respects are more primitive, as in 6088, 6483, and 6486, and the two males, 6484 and 6485. In proportion, however, as the sculptor became more proficient in technique, more and more disturbed by the clumsiness of such methods, he gradually lowered the advanced leg, relaxing the right angle that it had formed with the waist ; 6477, 6479, and 6480 are good examples of progress.

In this connection the battered archaic marble Victories of the Acropolis all exhibit a decided relaxation of the advanced leg, more decided even than in the already lowered leg of the so-called "Archer-mus" statue. Typical examples are Nos. 691 and especially 690. The change is analogous to the difference between the Assos and Gjölbaschi runners, for the extravagant and rectangular elevation of the foreleg in the former monument is relinquished in the latter to rest the front foot upon the ground and to curve the leg more gradually. The employment of the same position for the expression of running at Assos

conflicts with Reinach's conclusion¹ that leaping was conceived as the characteristic activity of the archaic Nike's legs. Curtius² is more correct in thinking that this attitude was employed for all kinds of activity, for, as will often be observed in the course of this study, it is characteristic of the primitive artist that, having painfully developed what he conceives as a satisfactory pose, he will rest content and repeat this one achievement in places where to the modern critic it does not seem to apply. Collignon³ points out the employment of the posture for running Nereids on an amphora from Cervetri;⁴ and the hypothesis that the Nike is intended to be running instead of leaping is strengthened by the subsequent evolution of this exaggerated spread of her legs into a more graceful position identical with that attained for the ordinary runners of later Greek sculpture. The more the back leg is relaxed from the other right angle at the knee, the greater the approximation to running. No. 6477 of the Central Museum is a satisfactory example of the first stage, in which the upper and lower parts of the back leg are still perpendicular to each other; and the actual impression of running is imparted by 6481 and 6482, in which the back leg is considerably lowered.

Additional prominence is lent to the legs, perhaps, by the old method of exaggeration, and more surely and legitimately, by the use of drapery. It is dangerous to make any definite statement about the exaggeration of size in the Nike. In general the marble Victories of the Acropolis seem to have possessed stockier legs than the stationary female figures, but inasmuch as it cannot be proved that any motionless statue and an agitated Nike are the work of one man, there is no standard of com-

¹ *Rev. Arch.* IX, 1887, pp. 106-7.

² *Die knieenden Figuren der altgriechischen Kunst (Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste, Berlin, 1869)*. I cannot agree with Curtius, however, that this attitude was confined to advancing figures. If he had known the lately discovered slab in the Central Museum at Athens (Perrot and Chipiez, VIII, p. 649, fig. 333), where the kneeling posture is used for a dying athlete, he would have modified his conclusion. The attitude doubtless had its origin in moving figures; but it was not unusual for the general posture of a moving figure to be transferred to the representation of the same figure when he had suddenly come to rest, as here, where the running athlete seems suddenly seized with a paroxysm of deadly pain.

³ I, p. 138, note 2.

⁴ Published by Dümmler, *Röm. Mitt.* II, 1887, p. 172, and pl. 8.

parison, and the existence of exaggeration cannot be asserted too arbitrarily. In some of the bronze figures, as in 6088 and especially in the Gorgon types, the back leg is larger than the foreleg, and this tendency betrays itself again in the suffering Medusa of Temple C at Selinus, who assumes a very primitive phase of the Nike posture. In distinction from the method of representation at Assos, is the activity here considered as centred in the sustaining back leg? At any rate, the instances are too few to warrant any conclusion. The movement of the legs is certainly more conspicuous when they are laid bare of drapery. From such an extremely primitive type as 6483, where the garment is too short of itself to cover the legs, little can be inferred; but where, as in the Archermus statue,¹ the chiton appears to be swept back or, as in the bronze Nike, No. 491 of the British Museum, is drawn back, the conscious use of the device gives it much significance.

The incongruity between the upper and lower portions in the archaic Nike type and in the majority of the other figures where it exists arose, I suspect, partly from a desire to make the legs conspicuous, for it is noteworthy that the incongruity occurs almost without exception in cases of a moving figure where there is emphasis upon the legs. The early sculptor, in an attempt to reconcile two tendencies, was confronted by a dilemma. First, tradition was still powerful enough to require that the statue face the worshipper as he approached the temple, and especially the Nike, a solitary, unattached statue in the round, frequently

¹ This indication of improvement and the above mentioned obliquity of the foreleg will not allow me to agree with Collignon's assumption (I, p. 137) that the Nike ascribed to Archermus is the original prototype and that Archermus is the inventor of the type. The assumption is based upon two uncertainties—a still much debated connection of the statue with an inscribed base, and the decision of the much vexed question as to the interpretation of the inscription in favor of Six (*Ath. Mitt.* XIII, 1888, p. 143). Long and sad experience has taught that such corroboratory evidence as that of the Scholiast upon Aristoph. *Aves* 513, to the effect that Archermus was the first to apply wings to his Victories, is of no more trustworthiness than the archaeology and art criticism of Pausanias; and the doubtful connection of the name of Archermus with the statue still further decreases the value of this testimony. Even if the connection with the base is granted and the interpretation accepted, the inventiveness ascribed to Archermus does not necessarily refer to anything further than the addition of wings. The external evidence, then, of the Scholiast and the inscription offer no sure ground; and the internal evidence of a relaxed leg and sweeping drapery point with certainty toward an advance from earlier and cruder types.

used as a temple acroterium,¹ was naturally supposed to be viewed from the front. On the other hand, wishing the figure to cause an intense sensation of violent movement and yet dimly conscious of the shortcomings of his technique, the sculptor, according to the general tendency of the archaic period, dared not risk a failure by seeking significance in any other factor but the profile view of the legs, their most conspicuous attitude. If the bent legs required by the majority of forms of violent action were represented as frontal, they would have protruded straight at the spectator, most clumsily and most precariously for the safety of the marble, and, besides, the bend would not be easily visible to the spectator below. In this dilemma he compromised by retaining the necessary side posture of the legs and blandly planting upon them the trunk in a straight frontal posture. Partly because he was unable to unite these two portions correctly and partly because of the primitive tendency to do nothing by halves, excusing himself perhaps in the thought that the discrepancy would not be so evident to those upon the ground below, he evolved the familiar archaic type, the unreality of which it would cost his successors so much effort to overcome. He more or less defeated his own purpose, however, for any impediment to the reality of a body's anatomy is necessarily an impediment to the reality of that body's movement.

In the Centaurs at Assos and generally in the nude male figures of this period, the incongruity appears at its worst. The so-called Nike of Archermus, in that the garment is modelled closely to the body and there is no himation to conceal the meeting of the upper and lower portions, presents an example almost as intolerable; and it is disconcerting to note here that the disposition of the legs in two planes, although advantageous to the expression of movement, increases the inconsistency in so far as it draws attention to their profile position. A comparison with the majority of bronze Victories and even with such a developed marble type as No. 690 of the Acropolis Museum shows how much less lively is the movement when the legs are cramped so unnaturally in a single plane that neither appears to have any vigor as a separate member. The retention of one plane may be a reminiscence of a frontal and stationary position of the legs in which their plane

¹ Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, VIII, p. 570, on an archaic Nike found at Delphi.

would be properly the same. The sculptor of the "Archerinus" statue makes each leg act with an individual energy, and having once hopelessly sacrificed consistency, he does not balk at emphasis of the incongruity, if he can increase the freedom of movement. It is less troublesome in many of the bronze figures when the waist is hidden by the folds of the Ionic himation.¹ As long as the incongruity prevailed, however, the condition was hopeless. The representation of the legs in their two proper planes increased the unreality by accentuating the inconsistency between the upper and lower bodies, and the compression into a single plane was itself a denial of reality.

The marble Victories of the Acropolis exhibit distinct attempts to soften the incongruity. Not only is the Ionic himation employed to conceal the juncture at the waist, but there are unmistakable evidences of abandoning the strictly frontal torso. In No. 690 the tendency may be clearly observed by running the eye across the right shoulder and breast, and in 691 across the line of the two breasts. In the latter greater harmony is achieved by the gradual character of the rise of the himation from conformity to the lower half to the frontal position of the upper, and the transition to the frontal position is here plainly seen to begin somewhat below the waist. In 694 the drapery so envelops the legs as almost to belie the sideward position.

In addition to these ruses to conceal incongruity, there are many instances of first gropings towards a manipulation of flying drapery to enhance the sensation of movement. Of the bronze figures, No. 6480 offers the most important example. First, a broad fold of the himation is blown out behind, mechanically, of course, as was to be expected of a first attempt. This motive is repeated almost exactly in the marble Nike 690 of the Acropolis Museum, and again in 694, where all but the beginning of the fold has been broken off. Second, with both hands she lifts the skirts of her chiton as if to disembarass her legs of any incumbrance. The use of one hand to raise the hem of the chiton occurs in many of the moving and indeed in the stationary Ionic females, where its use doubtless originated in a desire to relieve, by adding one

¹ Since it does not affect my purpose whether the Ionic female costume is of one or two pieces, I waive the distraught problem and without pretence at correctness use the term "himation" of the upper portion of the dress.

element of activity, the general monotony of quietude; but the double elevation of the chiton is extraordinary. Strangely enough, however, a slighter sensation of motion is derived from 6480, which is marked by this considerable employment of drapery, than from 6477, where the drapery falls in straight, arbitrary folds. The explanation is that whereas such a detail as the elevation of the drapery for freedom of movement requires a separate act of the reason for its comprehension, the extension of the arms, even though as here only suggested by shattered stumps, transmits immediately the sensation of motion.

To these two more palpable uses of a broadly flying fold and of uplifted skirts are added less readily apprehended or less certainly significant factors. Some of the Victories exhibit the tilt forward of the upper body in exertion, as 6482, 6483, and 7734 of the bronze figures and 691 of the marble, where the inclination of the torso may be clearly discerned in the lower position of the left breast, and, most conspicuous of all, 694. I have already discussed the importance of stripping the legs of drapery. Minor touches are often added. In the bronze Nike 6475 the himation seems to be blowing in oblique folds across the body, and in 6478 and 6479 not only the himation but the heavy folds of the chiton between the legs. That the agitation is due to the wind, however, is not certain, for the intention may be simply to denote the upper edge of the folds as pulled forward by the new position of the arm and leg, as in the mounting Athena of the south frieze of the Cnidian Treasury, and the lower edge as not yet fallen into the plumb-line demanded by the change. In the bronze Nike of the British Museum, No. 491, the unmistakable agitation of the hair by the wind would seem to point to a similar cause for the slant of the himation at the same angle, and is perhaps conclusive for all cases. Whether in general it be the wind or only the new attitude for the body that disturbs the folds, drapery is tangibly used to inculcate the sensation of movement. Furthermore, in the marble Nike 691, the garments appear to be blown closely about the body, there is an unmistakable billowing out of the draperies under the left arm, and more than in any other of the statues the folds between the legs are raised by the advanced leg. This same figure is important as introducing the factor I have just mentioned in the bronze Nike of the British Museum — the blowing of the hair. As usual, however, the primitive sculptor sinks back contentedly after

this one achievement, utterly regardless of the anomaly of leaving the hair upon the very side in which the Victory is progressing as unshaken as if it hung from another head. One element is still lacking. Nowhere does the sculptor allow the drapery to cling so closely about the form that the actions of the members beneath appear accurately outlined. It remains for some such sophisticated sculptor as Paeonius to invent this device that some declare is the result of moistening the drapery.

The bronze in the British Museum to which I have several times alluded furnishes a good illustration of this archaic type at its apogee. All details are treated with the utmost precision and sense of beauty attainable within the prescribed limits. The wings sweep forward so broadly and finely as to signify something beyond their mere existence as attributes; and the feathers are highly modelled with a real feeling for design. One arm conventionally yet daintily picks up a fold of the chiton, while the other is stretched forth vigorously and elevated like a mast of the wind-smitten wings. The legs, though taken merely in their most archaic phase of separation, are so delicately delineated as to retrieve themselves; and the grace with which the folds of the chiton are drawn back, revealing conspicuously the active foreleg, would almost deny a truly archaic origin.¹ The hair is here blown prettily by the wind on both sides, and the himation is driven back apparently by the same force. The whole dress indeed is managed with such a skill and freedom, contrary to the usual spirit of the Ionic garb and approximating the use of clinging drapery, that the sculptor would form a not unworthy link in the chain that ended in the Nike balustrade of the Acropolis.

The development of the Nike of the Archermus class, then, is only a history of the gradual addition of secondary factors to the two primary factors centred in the wings and legs. Here the body was tilted forward, and there the accessories were slightly and stiffly blown out by the wind; or again an unskilful effort was made to harmonize the discordant upper and lower bodies. But as long as the ugly and unreal incongruity persisted, it was energy wasted. If the sculptors stressed the drapery and hid the incongruity at the waist, they also obscured the actions of the

¹ The text of the Brunn-Bruckmann plates (pl. 526) puts this figure in the fifth century. It might almost be archaistic; it is at least a sophisticated imitation of an earlier type.

limbs beneath; if they minimized the drapery, it was even worse, for they sacrificed the factor that stared them in the face from almost every form of activity, and the incongruity of the two halves became intolerable. The solution of the problem lay, first, in a greater knowledge and appreciation of the human form, which should convince them of the frequent absurdity of the type, and second, in a more advanced technique, which should permit them to diminish the importance of the legs and to represent the statue as facing and rushing upon the spectator, but to atone for the loss of prominence in the legs by such mature and effective significant factors as the above mentioned compromise between form and enveloping drapery. Down through the succeeding centuries of Greek tradition, however, as in the Victories of Paeonius and of Samothrace, at least a slight agitation of the legs prevails as an ineradicable reminiscence of the times when the groping artist blindly grasped at this as the most easily apprehended means of expression.

B. DORIC MONUMENTS

(a) *Temple C at Selinus*

The earliest monuments of Doric sculpture, as exemplified by the metopes of Temple C at Selinus and the grave reliefs of Sparta, probably represent a more primitive stage in the expression of movement than Assos. At Selinus,¹ where details are treated with more care and the state of preservation is better, defects may with more confidence be ascribed to mere ignorance than to shiftlessness of technique or the corrosion of time. This ignorance betrays itself often: in the unrelieved frontal position of all the figures, in the prevalence of a stiffness which harks back to pure architectural design, in the neglect of a bent position of the legs, and, in general, of all but one or two significant factors.

The impression of movement is absolutely at zero. The chief reason, and the reason upon which all the others depend, is that the sculptor has conceived each figure as a separate statue, posed as if a part of an amateur "tableau vivant" or as if arranged for the "curtain" of a melodrama. They all face us baldly. One of the most palpable and significant factors of motion is sacrificed in that each actor, instead of

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 286 a and b; 287 a.

turning intently toward the object of his exertion, blandly exhibits himself to the spectator. Oenomaus,¹ guiding his horses directly at us, gazes out in an unrelieved frontal position. The result is disastrous. Clinging to the primitive resolve to do nothing by halves, the sculptor is not satisfied that the hands holding the reins should be stretched out over the horses,² or lowered to a condition of rest on the chariot itself, but he must needs make them conspicuous, and the only conspicuous place, with this frontal position for the whole metope, he finds to be an exaggerated elevation beside the head, flat against the background, appearing especially uncomfortable in the virtual dislocation of the left arm. It may be a possible phase in the manipulation of the reins; but as in the runners of Assos, the wrong moment is chosen, and the effect is ugly, perfunctory, and exaggerated. The wings of the Harpies on the Xanthos monument, though at the extreme back position, form a pleasing contrast in that they do not appear painfully distorted. Again, the only way in which Hippodamia at his side is allowed by the prevailing frontal position to exhibit her arms is to exalt them against the background even more clumsily than the Nereids at Assos, who, however silly, at least gesticulate in a natural profile position. The single trace of movement in the metope is the not ungraceful twist of the head in the two outer horses.

Little embarrassed by the two Cercopes whom he bears fettered upon his shoulder, Heracles stares serenely out of his frame. The mortal Perseus, of course, in peril of losing his life, could not cast one glance towards the side at the head of Medusa; but the immortal Athena, who, immune from the danger and guiding his arm, might be expected to take some mild interest in the stroke, preserves a truly stony gaze at the spectator. In both these metopes the fact that the actor does not turn towards his task is the most important element in utterly nullifying the impression of action. The workman is handicapped by the same kind of tradition which, while for the other figures it permits round relief, keeps flat the more traditional countenance of Medusa. Comparison with several of the figures at Assos, the pursuing Heracles,

¹ I once more employ the conventional nomenclature.

² It might seem that the sculptor was here influenced by a fear that the arms be broken off; but the horses' legs are in as precarious condition, and Perseus protrudes his arm as he lops off the Gorgon's head.

the warrior of the metopes, or the otherwise awkward Nereids of the epistyle, reveals the significance of this one simple factor of attention to the task in hand, which the sculptor at Selinus had not yet learned.

The front position of the head, of course, obviates the double incongruity of Assos; the ordinary incongruity at the waist is broadly marked, even in the two suspended Cercopes. Drapery is in no way manipulated to show motion; but the chiton of Perseus presents a rather curious compromise. The lower part of Athena's tunic is shown to be clearly in profile by the way in which it slants from the back foot; but the central piece of Perseus's garment, while falling from a spot required by a side position of the legs, yet in that the folds themselves are frontal, conforms to the upper half of the body. The sculptor seeks to manage the garment so as to conceal what he recognizes as a desperate inconsistency.

The second element of extreme primitiveness is found in the approximation to pure design, especially tangible in the Oenomaus and Heracles metopes. In the first the eight parallel lines of the horses' legs and the zigzag figure produced at the top by the entanglement of arms and reins seem a reminiscence of geometric decoration. In the Perseus metope the relation is not so clear; but, as in the Nereids at Assos, the repetition of motive in the left arms of Athena and Perseus is noteworthy. With Heracles and the Cercopes, however, the design can be better discerned than the action, which is clumsily and unrealistically accommodated to the geometric form. The composition may be reduced to the accompanying figure. The geometric appearance of the three metopes is accentuated by the virtual universality of straight lines and the general archaic fondness for right angles. Perpendicularity is especially apparent in the legs of the Gorgon, in Perseus's right arm, and in the legs, arms, shoulders, and even the hair of the Cercopes.



That there should have been such a development from geometric decoration to lifelike sculpture is perfectly natural. The stage of pure design is exemplified in Mycenaean palaces, and, more germane to our purpose, in the poros temples of the Acropolis. The metopes of the old Athena temple were characterized by a leaf pattern painted

around the edge;¹ and the first of the "kleinere Porosbauten" discussed by Wiegand has a very broad geometric border, running along the upper part of the pediment and covering about half the space.² Some of these temples have geometric acroteria, out of which we know that later plastic forms were evolved, and two ornamental fragments³ of uncertain provenience are Gorgon heads only a short way removed from pure design. That the metopes were sometimes painted even at a much later date is proved by the fragments lately discovered at Thermon.⁴ These metopes themselves have geometric borders, and the three seated deities of one⁵ approach closely pure design. All these facts confirm me in the theory that there was a stage when the metopes and pediments were simply painted in geometric design and that the early sculptor was at first much hindered from a free expression of movement by the still prevailing formality of tradition. He was more or less obliged, willy nilly, to dispose the torsos and limbs of his figures according to the old ideas of strict design. Even if he had known how to present the manifold significant factors of motion, he would still have been restrained behind these only too literal bars of geometric conventionality. An analogy is offered in the development from the geometric to the figured vases. The sculptor in the loftier sphere of art, finding that the lines of pure design, like the bones in the vision of Ezekiel, are very dry, breathes upon them, and there is a shaking, and they come together and live. At Selinus the sinews and flesh have indeed come upon them and the skin has covered them above, but there is no breath in them; it is not until the winds of Hellenic creation have blown upon them that on the Parthenon they live in perfect freedom.

Restricted by these two major traditions of absolute frontal position and geometric precision, the sculptor neglects well nigh all significant factors. There are the sins of Assos and there are new sins. It has already been demonstrated how, as for the runners at Assos, the wrong phase in the movement of holding the reins is chosen. In addition, as

¹ Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, Cassel and Leipzig, 1904, pl. 1; Text, pp. 10 and 11, fig. 14 a and 14 b.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 12.

⁴ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1903, pl. 2-6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 6.

in the worst parts of the decoration at Assos, though the few lines of the muscles have not been obliterated, the legs are simply separated, not bent, and the whole impression of action is relegated to the arms. In the case of Athena, there is the same conservatism, here manifesting itself in parallelism of the legs and general angularity, that we have seen to be characteristic of feminine figures at Assos and on the Harpy Monument. Distinct inferiority to Assos is exhibited by the neglect to raise the heels. In the Gorgon alone is there the slightest suggestion of a bending forward of the upper body out of the line of the lower, by no means so marked as at Assos, and here where we should expect a violent struggle, Medusa leers placidly as Perseus neatly slices off her head.

Of exaggeration of size as a mode of attracting attention to the centre of movement, there is no sure example. The thighs possess the ordinary archaic amplitude, but as there are no figures in which the legs would not be important, not even the upturned Cercopes, the contortion of whose limbs must be emphasized as significant of their unwilling captivity, there is no standard of comparison. A more general exaggeration, however, is evident; as in the broadly gesticulating arms or the sharply bent forelegs of the Centaurs at Assos, nothing is half done. If the hands of Oenomaus and his daughters are to appear at all, they must forsooth be outspread in an unnatural entirety. The sword of Perseus is not shown at the more comely moment immediately before or after the blow, but in the midst of the neck itself. If the projections from his shins are indeed wings,¹ they are not allowed to rest as ordinarily upon inconspicuous heels, but are twirled flaringly along the shins. The Cercopes must be absolutely inverted or not at all; the geometric plaits of their hair obey the laws of gravity with painful exactitude. The primitive sculptor deals in no subtleties; he leaves nothing ambiguous; his effects are on a scale of a lusty hugeness.

The general impression of Temple C, then, is an unrelieved archaism. Geometric traditions are still very vivid in the workman's memory; he cannot rid himself of the feeling which requires that each figure face the spectator and exist somewhat as a separate entity; he relies rather upon broad effects than upon delicacy; he knows virtually nothing of the manifold significant factors of motion.

¹ Cf. above, p. 108.

The metope from an unknown temple at Selinus¹ depicting Europa's ride upon the bull offers a most curious confirmation of the characteristics of Temple C. Europa, to be sure, by turning towards the bull, whose horn she grasps, violates the strict frontal position; but the bull, like a caricature from some modern book of nonsense rhymes, gazes out at us idiotically, utterly belying his onward movement. The sideward position of Europa somewhat atones for this inconsistency, but it misleads the sculptor into the extraordinary distortion of presenting the legs themselves in profile and the drapery which covers them as frontal. Furthermore, the conventional lines for the features of the bull and for the symbolically delineated fish beneath reflect unmistakably geometric prototypes. Most striking of all is the occurrence of the actual movement of swimming. The hind legs paddling the water back behind them and the forelegs churning it like propellers are evidence of a most careful study from nature. The primitive sculptor is not deterred from representing actual swimming by the consideration that its complexity is beyond his power, but he attacks the attitude as bravely as he does blindly, and, as in the Perseus of the Gorgon metope, chooses the very midst of the movement. The exaggeration of such a choice becomes clearer by comparison with the same subject upon a metope of the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi, where, rather than the actual plunge through the sea, a moment before or after is represented. Instead of the most beautiful aspect, the primitive sculptor, as usual, thinking only of the movement itself, chooses its most exaggerated aspect.

(b) *The Sicyonian Treasury*

Doric sculpture on the continent itself affords in the lamentably battered metopes of the Sicyonian Treasury² excellent proof that the deficiencies noted in the early carvings at Selinus are not the fault of individuals but of the general embryonic state of the art. The devices for the expression of movement are still exceedingly primitive, but the execution itself is from the hand of a master workman. The sculptor succeeds admirably as long as he is not brought into conflict with

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 288 b.

² *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. 3 and 4. As the subjects treated are not germane to the discussion, I use the names given in this publication.

traditional methods. We have just discussed the more fitting moment chosen for the representation of Europa and the bull. In this subject, which is not concerned with one of the ordinary phases of movement, such as running, mounting the chariot, or warring, unhampered by any definite convention, he can exert his own ingenuity. Europa not only clings to the bull, as in the grotesque metope of Selinus, but bends far over in her anxious grasp; and this frightened action of the girl unaccustomed to so precarious a seat is accentuated, as in the Aristogeiton of the famous Naples group, by the broad fold of drapery that hangs out conspicuously over her extended arm. The other arm gropes frantically for something to clasp on the bull's side, and the legs, appearing faintly beneath the drapery, cling to the animal's body, and, more naturally than in the Selinus metope, are disposed in different planes.

When, however, the sculptor comes to the subject of the raid of the Dioscuri, requiring only a series of walkers and a group of advancing beasts, he keeps within as conventional bounds as the craftsman of the Sicilian temple. The reality of the advance, to be sure, is not destroyed by a frontal position of the figures, except in the case of the outer beast from each group of cattle, the head of which, like that of the bull in the Selinus metope, is turned around to the spectator squarely as if the sculptor in his perfunctory effort for variation could stop at no half-way point. But the hampering influence of geometric tradition is as tangible as before. The legs of the cattle are all compressed into the accompanying series of triangles. The double spears that each of the three heroes clasps stretch behind them in parallel lines, and the spear arm of each meets the body at an identical angle. The repetition of a single motive, which proved at Assos so fatal to the sensation of any individual freedom of movement, has here its extreme manifestation. Each of the spearmen, except in slight, insignificant details of drapery and hair, is an exact repetition of the others. The three sets of three cattle are identical even to the geometric rosette which inexplicably adorns the nose of every outer beast. More formal still, there is a parallelism not of the twofold kind that appears in ordinary chariot teams, but of three pairs of human legs; and the sculptor so loses himself in the maze when the overlapping of the groups should produce six parallel



legs,¹ that he commits the error of giving only five. The legs of the walkers are stiff and straight; what little sensation of motion there is comes from the separation of the legs and the emphasis of their exaggerated size. Reflections of design are apparent again in the identity of the two warriors on the ship in the so-called metope of the Dioscuri and Orpheus and in the decorative pattern on parts of the boar from another metope.

The fact that despite these deficiencies the Sicyonian Treasury imparts a much keener sense of action than Temple C demonstrates what an utterly disastrous impediment is the unnatural frontal position at Selinus. If it were not, however, for the more delicate execution of the metopes of the former monument, the spectator would still deem them little better than bits of perfunctorily carved and disposed articles of virtu. Even an indubitable artistic talent is not able to extricate the sculptor from clogging traditions in the expression of movement.

(c) *The Spartan Sepulchral Reliefs*

In the conventional Spartan type of archaic grave relief, in which, of two persons seated upon a throne, the outer one, a male, usually holds a vase, and the inner, a female, raises her veil, Doric sculpture exemplifies unmistakably the principle of exaggeration. A comparison of three of these reliefs,² two in the Spartan Museum and one at Berlin, will elucidate the point. In the more primitive of the Spartan pair, not content that the hinder of the two persons be more indistinct or that any of the few significant factors that he does succeed in producing should pass unnoticed, the sculptor makes the arm holding the veil somewhat longer and broader than the other arm, and to ensure the veil catching the eye, he actually exaggerates its edge into a kind of surrounding bastion. But he does not stop here. He goes on to magnify the male's right arm supporting a huge vase, and more unpleasantly, to gigantic proportions, his inner arm and hand, which for some unfathomable reason he

¹ This same fault we discover even in the much more careful north frieze of the Cnidian Treasury, where a series of three giants are assigned only four legs.

² The reliefs are published in *Ath. Mitt.* II, 1877. The more primitive slab appears on pl. 22.

desires to make very conspicuous.¹ The Chrysapha relief, now at Berlin,² exhibits the same extravagancies and deficiencies. As at Assos, the dwarfing of the two figures bearing the materials of the sacrifice may partly be ascribed to the tendency to lay emphasis upon the significant. Once more the reality of the man's action is imperiled by the fact that he turns away from what he is doing and gazes at the spectator, and by the well-nigh unrelieved straightness of lines and the sharp angles at which they meet. The first thing, perhaps, one notices in the other tablet upon which I wish to comment³ is a greater proclivity for curved lines and softer angles, facilitated by more roundness of relief. Such an innovation is a distinct element of progress, especially for the presentation of movement, in which a changing line is of inestimable value. With the greater skill in technique exaggeration disappears. Relying upon ordinary methods, the sculptor no longer needs to magnify the active parts. The difference is especially perceptible in the manner by which he attracts attention to the veil, for, instead of heightening the edge, he raises the whole expanse and distinguishes it from the background through the gentle curve of its outline.⁴

C. THE MORE PRIMITIVE SECTIONS OF THE CNIDIAN TREASURY

In that most precious of Greek museums, at Delphi, not the least precious monuments are the pediment and frieze of the structure belonging to the Cnidians. The north and east portions of the frieze present elements of extreme beauty that are not overshadowed even by the Charioteer or the Agias; and, as of old it was called a Treasury because the receptacle of the best the Cnidians could offer at this most exquisite of shrines,—the favorite abode of the very god of art,—so now to us moderns, for aesthetic and archaeological interest, the building again justifies its name. A single example of its archaeological

¹ Collignon, I, p. 233, interprets the gesture vaguely as “un geste bienveillant,” and Perrot and Chipiez, VIII, p. 440, no less unsatisfactorily, as “un geste d'appel et d'accueil.”

² Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 227.

³ *Ath. Mitt.* II, 1877, pl. 24.

⁴ In the Chrysapha slab there is, to be sure, a curve where the two straight edges meet, but this is by no means as conspicuous as a curve of the whole edge.

significance is the exact prototype, in the south division of the frieze, of the divine Council upon the Parthenon; and we shall find, I trust, that its discovery is of great assistance in establishing certain features of the development of movement in Greek sculpture. It needs only a casual glance to discern that there are at least two periods represented in the frieze. The pediment and the south and west portions of the frieze¹ are about as primitive as the Ionic and Doric monuments that have hitherto been discussed, and the south and west divisions themselves present certain elements of superiority to the pediment, though not such as could not be explained by increasing skill in the same artist.

In these three more archaic divisions there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the exaggeration of the centres of motion is employed in order to inculcate the impression that the sculptor otherwise feels incapable of producing. In the pediment, which depicts the struggle between Apollo and Heracles for the tripod, the latter, at the right of the central Athena² as arbiter, possesses legs heroically out of proportion to his puny waist, even when compared to the ordinary emphasis upon the thighs in archaic Greek sculpture. The essence of the tugging is concentrated not in the effort of the arms and waist, as might be expected, but as at Assos in the struggle with Triton, in the legs, which must be understood as moving the body rapidly forward and thus wresting the contested object from Athena's grasp. The legs are made the single emphatic factor of the motion, and the upper body does not coöperate in any way whatsoever.

Many considerations suggest that the prominence of the legs is intentional. It is properly lacking in Apollo at the other side of Athena, since he does not seem to be represented in movement. His legs reveal a correspondence between much slighter separation and less exaggeration of size. That magnitude of the limbs is not a peculiar attribute of Heracles and hence of no special noteworthiness, is evident from the occurrence of the same extravagance in the little male figure at the extreme right, whose posture is almost identical with that of Heracles

¹ *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. 7-17.

² I adopt for convenience sake the designations of Perrot and Chipiez, VIII, p. 363. I should be disposed rather to interpret the central figure as the priestess from whom, according to the myth, Heracles sought to wrest the tripod.

and whom the French have restored as hurling a spear. Since the greater spread of the legs connotes more violent action, the primitive's single and natural refuge is through increase of bulk to emphasize their conspicuousness. The second proof that exaggeration of the legs is not dependent upon the personality of Heracles himself, but upon the desire to attract attention to the centre of the action, is furnished by the splendid north portion of the frieze. Heracles behind Cybele's chariot and Apollo in front, assuming the same position of attack, have legs of identical size; whereas if the exaggeration were simply the attribute of Heracles and not the significant factor of motion, we should still expect its presence even in these later reliefs.

The pediment shows an exaggeration also of the arm in action. Leto assists in the contest by placing her hands upon Apollo's arms and adding the force of her strain to the truly listless effort of her aesthetic but unathletic son. Naturally this tugging arm of hers, as the centre of motion, is magnified to a length greater by three centimeters than that of the next feminine figure, whose other proportions about equal Leto's.

The west frieze, the so-called apotheosis of Heracles, is so shattered that it offers no basis for secure judgment. The inordinate size of Hermes's calves at the extreme left is probably an exaggeration of the same kind, — an over-zealous attempt to indicate the chief seat of the powers of Hermes the Messenger. In the south frieze, the rape of the daughters of Leucippus, there occurs an instance closely analogous to the raised foreleg of the Centaur at Assos. The sculptor denotes the importance of the advanced leg in lifting into the chariot both the marauder and the woman he bears away by rendering it six centimeters longer than that which rests upon the ground. Since the whole point in this escapade of the Dioscuri was the rapidity with which they accomplished their violence, such an emphasis upon the leg is conclusive; and even to the modern eye, trained to respond to much subtler modes of expression, the device is not without effect. The insensibility to true proportion exemplified in this exaggeration and again in the dwarfing of the horses to plaything size in order to bring them within the compass arbitrarily allotted to them is typical of the primitive mind, which is little concerned with the falsification of reality, if only it can attain its general broad effect.

The same tendency betrays itself in other details. As in the Assos Centaurs it is the conspicuous foreleg that is elevated to indicate running, and as in the Selinus metope the Cercopes are not simply slung over the conqueror's shoulder but completely inverted, so here the spread of the legs as a significant factor in the action of Heracles and the spearman is exaggerated until the two legs and the base form the sides of an equilateral triangle. I remember now the quick ejaculation of a certain friend of mine, who was visiting with me the museum at Delphi for the first time, upon the broad stride that characterizes the pediment. Likewise the so-called Hebe of the west frieze is depicted, if at a possible phase of the mount into the chariot, at least at a very ungraceful and extravagant phase, in which the sculptor has selected the widest possible separation of the legs so as to leave no doubt as to what action he wishes to present. The inadequacy of this method appears by comparison with such a figure as No. 65 of the north Parthenon frieze,¹ where the ugly spread of the legs is abandoned, and flying drapery beautifully substituted to produce the effect of rapid action.

The conservatism implied in such a method, though the workmanship is fairly skilful, is still very powerful in the pediment, where for the expression of movement there are no signs of advance over Assos; and in the south and west friezes the extravagant split of the legs so far suffices that the sculptor does not employ at all the bend at the knee. Inferior even to Assos are the inconspicuous rise of the hind foot of the two advancing figures, Heracles and the spearman of the pediment, and, except perhaps for the almost imperceptible slant in the spearman of the pediment and Hebe of the west frieze, the inflexibility of the upper body, especially in the attitude of tugging, where it would seem indispensable. The deadening effect of the retention of a single plane for the outspread legs of Athena is confirmed by a comparison with the real sensation of movement derived from Hebe, whose legs are in slightly different planes.

This westerly portion, however, exhibits one much more important instance of progress: there is a strange superiority in the delineation of animals, in that certain elements in the prancing of horses are not

¹ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Leipzig, 1871, pl. 12.

better rendered even in the Parthenon metopes. The tails are proudly raised, the legs accurately poised, and there is a distinct effort at variation. Though the horses are so arranged in spans that there are sets of parallel legs, the parallelism of Assos in the individual horse is so brilliantly dissolved that even the back wing of the pair upon each of Athena's steeds is differentiated from the other by an arbitrary elevation. In each of the four spans themselves the parallelism is mitigated by the exaltation of the head of the hidden horse, so that every head is visible, and in the front span of Hebe's chariot the parallelism is absolutely broken by advancing the foremost horse very perceptibly. In each quadriga one pair is differentiated from the other by lovely variations in the postures of the legs, and one quadriga from the other by the above mentioned dissolution of parallelism in Hebe's first span. A comparison with the dull monotony of Assos, where, because the Centaurs are not in pairs but single, the problem of variation would have been much easier, is highly flattering to the artist of the Cnidian Treasury.

That the drastic methods exhibited in all these more primitive monuments are not to be ascribed to the slovenliness of the individual sculptor but to a general immaturity of technique is plainly exemplified in the lately discovered Dying Athlete of the Central Museum at Athens, which may be properly considered here, because it summarizes the characteristics both of the Ionic and of the Doric monuments that we have discussed.¹ In every part there is evidence of a distinct refinement of execution, but the characteristics which I have analyzed in the other sculptures are clearly to be discerned. The artist has apparently intended to represent a wounded warrior sinking into prostration; but he undoubtedly adapts his dying hero to the posture of the Nike as the only extraordinary attitude for motion that he knows. The right angles formed by the legs are so unrelieved as to destroy effectually any impression of free movement. The incongruity of the waist shamelessly stares the spectator in the face: the navel conforms to the sideward attitude of the legs, whereas the hollow of the ribs is in a bald frontal position. To this denial of reality is added the perfunctory twist of the head, such as appears in the Centaurs at Assos. The exaggeration of

¹ No. 1959 of the Museum, publ. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1903, pl. 1.

the size of the legs for the sake of inculcating strongly the sensation of movement stands forth so unblushingly as not to require demonstration. When I was examining this warrior, however, to leave no doubt, I made a comparison with stationary figures in the same room. The trunk of the Ptoan Apollo¹ I found to measure about 48 centimeters in length and the leg 44; the feminine figure, No. 22,² proved to have a trunk 60 cm. long and a leg 52, — measurements in nearly the same ratio as those of the Ptoan Apollo. The sepulchral relief of Aristion, though of later date, exhibits a proportionately longer leg, perhaps in order to indicate that the figure is to be considered as marching. The violently agitated figure of the sinking warrior, certainly not posterior in date to the Aristion relief, exhibits a remarkable inversion of these statistics in a trunk measurement of only 28 cm. and a leg of 34. The combination of these characteristics of angularity, incongruity, and exaggeration with great delicacy of technique indicates a good craftsman unable to shuffle off the conventional coils of his time.

The poros sculptures of the Acropolis are so ill-preserved as to be of little importance to our present purpose. What can be gleaned from the fragments is in the main corroborative of the preceding studies, and thus rightly deserves mention here. In the pediment representing the battle between Heracles and the Hydra of Lerna, as in the pediment of the Cnidian Treasury, Heracles relies for the expression of great activity principally on the extravagant spread of the legs; and in this figure and again in that of Iolaus leaping into his chariot the upper body is utterly subordinated to the powerful legs. The primitive disregard for small details, however necessary they may be to the sensation of reality, is exemplified in the spectacular feat of the absolute reversal of Iolaus's head and in the pitiful dwarfing of his chariot horses in order that they may be contained within the compass allotted to them by the composition. The various poros remnants of groups of animals and of seated and standing deities and heroes are noteworthy from two standpoints. First, both in the modelling and the painting there are everywhere apparent reminiscences of old geometric design. A striking example occurs in the features of the lioness in the group that depicts the struggle

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 41 a.

² *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XIII, 1889, pl. 7.

between a lioness and a bull.¹ Second, even here at Athens, more remote from oriental influence than the Ionian coast, the factors of movement in the animals are more effectively presented than in the human figures. Greater skill is especially evident in the freedom from geometric traditions exhibited in the convolutions of the prodigious python, almost as elaborate as in the serpents of the Pergamon frieze, and in the fierce magnificence of the much lauded stricken bull from the better-known of the two similar groups,² in whose head there still lingers a savagery and a strong rebellion against the force that has laid him low.

II. THE LESS PRIMITIVE GROUP

A. IONIC MONUMENTS

(a) *The Less Primitive Sections of the Cnidian Treasury*

The east and north divisions of the Cnidian frieze³ offer a convenient starting point for the study of the second great group of archaic sculptures in that they not only exhibit characteristics of movement that are not to be found in the more primitive group, but bring these characteristics into sharp relief by contrast with the immaturity of the west and south divisions and especially of the pediment. Since the east and north are still archaic enough to lay undue emphasis upon the legs, our examination may properly begin with this detail.

The broad spread of the legs that has been noted in the pediment is diminished for the ordinary warrior in the battle over the body of Sarpedon at the east and in the struggle between the gods and giants at the north. In the more violently active figures, such as Heracles and Ares of the north, the separation naturally continues great, as reality

¹ Museum No. 3.

² Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur*, p. 215. Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 456 b.

³ Good photographs are available, taken from the casts at Paris. There are reproductions of the north frieze in *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. 13-15. I adopt for a working hypothesis the designations of Perrot and Chipiez, VIII, pp. 373 ff.: beginning at the left, Aeolus, two goddesses, two giants, Heracles, Cybele, a giant, another giant bitten by the lions of Cybele, Apollo and Artemis, Dionysus, two giants, the chariot of Zeus, two giants and Hera, Athena and two giants, Ares and two giants, Hephaestus and two giants, and at the right end a group of three combatants.

requires, but with the addition of a most important innovation, which will be found to persist in the subsequent history of Greek sculpture as characteristic of the usual position of the warrior. According to the old style of advance, as exemplified in Heracles and the dwarfed spearman of the pediment, each leg meets the ground at the same angle, so that a line dropped from the crotch would strike exactly the middle point of the hypotenuse of the triangle formed by the legs and the ground, and consequently the upper body is not borne forward by the advance of the leg but remains in the before mentioned line to the hypotenuse of the triangle. This oblique protrusion of the fore-leg at the same angle as the back leg, in that it belies reality, is probably the reason that the archaic separation of the legs gives the impression of exaggeration, whereas the even more extravagant separation of such late sculpture as the Phigalian frieze, since it is combined with elements of reality that correspond to such a separation, leaves no impression of unnaturalness. The whole posture of the moving figure, I believe, is evolved upon the principles of the early stationary statues, the most primitive stages of which Julius Lange¹ describes as requiring an exact symmetry of the two halves of the body. The first break with the lifelessness of this stationary pose occurred when the left leg was slightly advanced,—a stage illustrated in the Thera Apollo, or in the Polymedes statue² in the next room of this very Delphic museum. Differentiation of the arms excepted, virtual symmetry of halves is transferred to these early advancing figures, where the formality of the position is even more disastrous because there is an attempt at motion.

The group of combatants over the body of Sarpedon on the eastern frieze presents a sharp break with the tradition of symmetry. The change is exemplified especially in Menelaus, who is the first at the feet of the prostrate hero, and in the warrior behind him. The advanced leg of Menelaus is not thrust forward at an obliquity corresponding to that of the back leg, but is more naturally almost perpendicular to the ground, and the posture of the warrior behind is almost as decided. This perpendicularity of the advanced leg carries the upper bodies forward in greater attention to their task, and the weight so rests upon the firmly

¹ *Darstellung des Menschen in der älteren griechischen Kunst*, Strassburg, 1899.

² *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. 1.

planted foreleg that the other is left free to operate, to swing violently forward, and to add momentum to the force that hurls the spear. Hector and Aeneas on the other side, though their legs break with the primitive symmetry, have not yet proceeded to the high point of tension in which, as in the two Achaean heroes, the body rests on the single perpendicular leg; but in contrast to the unrelieved stiffness of the Heracles of the pediment, they exhibit a slight curve of the foreleg — a factor which we shall find developed and widely used in later monuments. To both these postures is sometimes added, as in Hector and Menelaus of the east and in the giant behind Heracles of the north, a forward tilt of the torso in the eagerness of the fray. In the north frieze, the battle of the gods and giants, the same position of the perpendicular advanced leg as in the Menelaus is generally chosen with more or less exactitude, — in the two giants warring with Aeolus and his daughter, in Apollo and the two giants that oppose him, in the figure behind Hera, in Athena and her enemy, and in Ares. In all these instances the heel of the other foot is raised much higher from the base than in the Heracles of the pediment, who, however, is forced to rely almost wholly upon this factor to denote the vehemence of the strife.

The spectator is not bored, as in the case of the marauding Dioscuri of the Sicyonian Treasury, by the monotony of this warrior motive, since in some cases, as in Menelaus and his comrade on the east and the giants generally on the north, the sculptor has turned toward us the left side with the shield, and in others, as in Hector and Aeneas, and on the north, in the gods generally, the right side with the spear, depicting the inside of the shield like the concave surface of a bowl, and has judiciously interspersed these two aspects of the movement. Because in other respects the appearance of the spearmen is so similar, the slight changes acquire an additional prominence. He has utilized the further device of separating the warriors by distracting details: by prostrate figures, of which there are three in the north frieze completely fallen and two in the midst of falling, by the complete nudity of two warriors, by Cybele towering like an ancient xoanon and strongly contrasted with the lively play of limbs about her, by the pair of lions devouring the giant, by a quadriga of high prancing horses, and by Hera turning directly around out of the procession of the gods, as it presses forward in victory, to quell a still obstreperous enemy. He has suc-

ceeded so well in masking his timidity for new attempts and exerted such a fertility of invention in the presentation of the same general posture that to the casual glance the variety rather than the monotony of the extended scene is apparent.

To these devices for variation he adds yet another virtue. Not only has he concealed the similarity in the pose of his warriors, but in several instances he has refused to follow the traditional representation. So Dionysus with a sword in place of a spear, as he leaps to the onslaught, lays low a giant beneath his strong tread; Hera turns back from Athena's side to crush her foe; one of the giants fighting with Hephaestus poises a great rock in lieu of a spear; Ares lifts one arm high above his head as he beats back the shield of his adversaries with the butt of his sword; and the warring god at the end bends far over the giant whom he has struck down, as if to make assurance doubly sure. When one considers the ease with which monotony could creep into the subject of a strife between a long line of gods and a long line of giants, the Cnidian artist is seen to be deserving of no mean praise. Under like circumstances we have seen the sculptor in Assos fail ignominiously with his tiresome chains of stupid banqueters, of silly Nereids, and of coward Centaurs, who like trained soldiers flee in file.

The improvement in the technique of the warrior's position connotes a diminution of exaggeration. The thighs are still abnormal, but the waist is less subordinate than in the pediment. The persistence of exaggeration in length is proved by a comparison of the splendid prostrate figure beneath the feet of Ares with the naked giant who copes with Athena. The trunk of the former is 3 centimeters longer than his upper leg, and the leg of the latter 1 centimeter longer than his trunk; the first naked figure beyond the right hand group shows the more striking disproportion of a leg 3 cm. longer. There is a possible instance of this method of expression in the Dionysus, who, partly in a Nike posture, presents, together with the giant bitten by Cybele's lion, the most violent separation of legs upon the monument. The greater exertion denoted by the separation would naturally be expressed, as in the pediment, by an emphasis upon the legs, and indeed, the waist, even though twisted into a false frontal position, seems to be more subordinated. The carelessness for details of form, evidenced even by this faithful artist, is exemplified by the inordinate size of the

arms of Aphrodite and Nemesis, who sit in the celestial council watching the strife over Sarpedon. Since it was important that the inner arm of each of these goddesses should be visible beyond the figure next in the row, he elongated it recklessly.

The principle of emphasis, which is at the bottom of this exaggeration, finds a more logical and advantageous expression than hitherto. The north frieze may roughly be divided into seven well defined groups, in at least five of which an important god is emphasized by being modelled in higher relief than the yielding giants. The first group of Aeolus, his daughters, and the opposing giants is too fragmentary to afford much evidence. In the second group of Heracles, the lion-drawn chariot of Cybele, and two giants, the xoanon-like figure of Cybele, whose lions are causing such havoc, is in higher relief. The same distinctness is given to Apollo in the next group of Apollo, Artemis, Dionysus, and their three enemies; in the fourth group of the chariot and the two horses, Hera and two giants, to Hera; in the fifth of Athena, Ares, and four giants, a like prominence is given to the deities; in the sixth of Hephaestus, the fragments of another god, and giants, to Hephaestus; to the seventh group I assign the three end figures, which possess about equal prominence. In some of these groups, to be sure, important deities are in the background, as Heracles and Dionysus, but in none is the giant given the greater distinction. At the east, concentration of attention upon movement is obtained by turning toward the scene the heads of the two attendants behind the horses, who seem to be added simply for this purpose. It is a new motive, if we except the Iolaus of the poros pediment of Heracles and the Hydra at Athens, where the case is not analogous, because Iolaus is a conventional accessory to the scene. At the north, further emphasis upon movement is attained in the four central groups by contrast with the stationary figures that appear in each:—in the second, the traditionally block-like form of Cybele, and in the other three, the prostrate warriors. The same kind of intensity is imparted to the beautifully curving body of Aeolus at the extreme left of the frieze by contrast with the erect body of the goddess in front of him. The actions of the deities gain additional relief by the great variation of their postures, whereas the giants are rendered even more inconspicuous by their comparative monotony.

The advance denoted by the increase of significant factors and the decrease of exaggeration is naturally paralleled by a realization of the archaic incongruity at the waist and an attempt to overcome it. The west and south portions, as far as can be judged from the battered fragments, are characterized throughout by this fault; it is especially distressing in the Heracles just beyond the mounting Hebe, for although the upper body faces outward, the navel, as in the relief of the Dying Athlete at Athens,¹ is in a position corresponding to the profile legs. In the pediment the incongruity seems to be reserved for the violently agitated figures. Likewise at the east and the north, except in the rather difficult problems of the seated Apollo and Athena, the fault is confined to the warriors. Is it a traditional defect persisting in this most traditional of figures, the spearman? Or are there not also other reasons making for the retention of the incongruity? As is evinced in at least the east and the north portions, the sculptor is capable of producing a consistent profile position and even a better transition between a side position of the legs and a frontal of the torso. May not the retention be ascribed to a feeling that no half way measures will suffice, that the entire legs must be seen absolutely from the side and the entire torso from the front, so that a logical transition between the parts is impossible? Or does the restriction of the incongruity to moving figures point to its use as another puerile means of emphasizing the action of the legs by dissociating them from the upper body through an unnatural juncture at the waist? All these considerations were probably necessary to retain in so fair a frieze so foul a defect. Whatever the solution may be, at least there is a distinct break with the tradition in the Apollo and Artemis and in the Ares of the north, who, though active in the midst of the fray, yet are characterized by a consistent profile position.

In several instances, moreover, though in Dionysus of the north the twist of the head preserves the worst kind of inconsistency, a tangible improvement is achieved by a more congruous union of the upper and lower bodies. It is like the prophecy of a change in the marble Victories. First, in the seated Ares at the extreme left of the east frieze, the passage from the legs to the breast is less abrupt; but the sculptor stops here as if one attempt in a division sufficed, leaving the juncture

¹ Cf. above, p. 131.

unmitigated in the perhaps more difficult seated Athena and the certainly more unusual transition from profile legs to frontal back in Apollo. Likewise at the left end of the north, where we shall see that the artist has put forward his best skill, the transition in the crouching Aeolus is virtually correct. The giant subjected to the jaws of Cybele's lion offers a noteworthy contrast to the funeral slab of the Central Museum,¹ in that the latter monument shows the navel in direct profile, the former an effort, at least, to twist the navel into greater conformity with the frontal chest. Perrot and Chipiez² comment upon the excellence of the transition in the three-quarters back position of Hephaestus.

In the Ares, starting to rise from his throne, and in the two other instances, be it noted, the improvement occurs in the extraordinary poses, and the ordinary moving figures retain their pristine inconsistency. It is the same tendency that revealed itself even as early as the Sicyonian Treasury. A more palpable example is found in the prostrate figures, which are by no means so common in Greek sculpture as the erect warriors. These, throughout, are almost free from any archaic defect, modelled with a secure sense of beauty, and varied with most fertile invention; compared to the upright active figures, they appear a generation later. Sarpedon of the east lies with arm outstretched upon the ground to indicate the utter laxity of death, which lays a man out at full length. The helpless left arm is crushed back against his body by the mighty shield which a moment before he wielded as strongly as the heroes who now dispute his carcass. The whole body is spread out laxly upon the ground, with the exception of the left leg, which the sculptor still preserves somewhat uplifted, perhaps to attract more attention for a figure that might otherwise pass almost unobserved. Every part of the body and attire, even to the hair, by conforming to the law of gravity, emphasizes the effect of prostration.

The posture of the dead giant beneath the foot of Dionysus at the north is very different. He is sunk motionless upon his back; his inner arm curves over his head quite limply, as if in a last effort to shield his face from the blow of the adversary, and his chest, no longer contracted by his exertion, protrudes helplessly. A concrete instance of superior execution is afforded by a comparison of the delicate technique of his

¹ Cf. above, p. 131.

² VIII, p. 380.

hand with the roughness of the hands of the lion-devoured ; and minute study shows that great care is bestowed upon certain details that in no way could be visible to the eye below. The next prostrate figure is not yet dead, but cowers before the "coup de grâce." He rises pitifully upon his right arm, and hurled upon his face by Hera's first blow with such force that his right leg is doubled under him, turns half upwards in a desperate essay at resistance. The passage from the legs to the chest is managed with particular skill. The dead giant beneath Hephaestus is studied with an excessive nicety that smacks too much of the "recherché." One leg sinks flabbily over the other in complete enervation ; but the bend of the right arm over the chest, cramping the hand under, seems artificial, and the pained countenance savors of affectation. The inconsistency at the waist disappears with these dying figures. The comparative size of trunk and legs observes the correct proportion, and the general delineation of such a body as the last falls little short of such anatomical perfection as is consistent with the purpose of art. Moreover, they are sculptured in the round, whereas large parts of the active figures above them still preserve flat surfaces, reminiscent, according to the general opinion, of work in wood. An example of the same tendency towards innovation only in the unusual figures is the retention at the north of parallelism in the teams of horses and the dissolution of parallelism in the leaping lions attached to Cybele's car.

The seated gods of the Olympian Council on the east present as signal an advance as the more violent warriors. There is a distinct effort at a dissolution of the stiff parallelism of the legs that appears in the Harpy Monument and strangely enough in so beautiful a figure as the woman of the Villa Albani funeral stele.¹ As far as the fragments permit judgment, the two sides of the Council seem to be closely analogous : Aphrodite leaning over towards Artemis presents a parallel to Nemesis and Leto ; the corresponding figures of Apollo and Athena on either side turn, one away from the spectator, the other towards him. But despite this symmetry, which might be supposed to have a benumbing effect, there is a surprising coöperation of all parts of the body in the somewhat insignificant actions of the enthroned gods. In the more conservative tranquillity of the female deities, the feet are still

¹ Winckelmann, *Monumenti Inediti*, No. 56.

but slightly disassociated; it is only in the case of the bending Aphrodite and Nemesis that the heels are raised by the exertion, and here only in strict unison. But the male deities in their vehemence separate their feet widely, Ares particularly, who seems about to start up in wrath.

The two end groups of the north portion, as I have already hinted, are culminations in the expression of movement through every part of the body. The end figure at the right shows beneath the shield his left arm curved and lax, as he rests his weight upon the hidden leg and bends his upper body for the blow that is to succor his fallen comrade. The bended knee, furthermore, seems to signify to the vision a slight attempt at crouching, in order to wound the attacking god in a vital spot. The free play of the torsos of both upright warriors is further indicated, in this elaboration of the ordinary advancing position, by the careful lines at the waist, which instead of merely continuing the obliquity of the legs, assume a different direction: both the upper and lower bodies still coöperate in the action, but whereas in the simpler disposition they strike together a single note, here both parts strike individual notes which harmonize into a chord. The power of the god as he tramples the giant beneath him finds two of its most significant factors not in the actor himself but in the fallen enemy. First, the completeness of the giant's prostration is denoted by the strongly marked lines which the upper leg, as it is clamped down by the mighty pressure from the god, hollows out in the lower leg; and secondly, the irregular line of the heel, becoming doubly conspicuous because up-turned and contrasted with the straight, regular line of the upper leg, inasmuch as it signals to the eye an unfamiliar phase of its possible movements, intimates the force of the being who could so distort the natural order of things. The importance of the advance achieved is apparent by a comparison with the earlier portions, where the artist has to rest satisfied with a partial expression of movement: as in the Heracles of the pediment, whose upper body does not coöperate at all in the conquest, as in Leto of the same part, the lines of whose legs are unbroken, or as in Hebe of the west, whose rigid upper body is disassociated from the mounting leg.

At the other end of the frieze the intricate curves of Aeolus' figure, as he crouches low to peer forth into the battle, are emphatically

contrasted with the firm, straight, simple lines of the upright goddess so close in front of him. Her arm is behind his head, and her gaze is fastened upon the same sight: their singleness of purpose makes the contrast in their attitudes all the more striking. The crouching is typified by the bent knee and the greater prominence lent to the hips, as the height of the body is diminished and they are pushed backward even over the edge of the relief. The upper body adds a significant factor by its obliquity. The whole crouching position is accentuated by the left hand resting upon the low, half-exhausted windbag—a reach that it could not accomplish if the body rose to its full height. The intensity of Aeolus's interest is signalled by three factors: the craning of his neck, the pushing back of the long hair from his countenance and shoulder, and the elevation of the right hand just above the mouth of the sack in the very act of letting fly a storm wind. From the Heracles of the pediment through the warriors of the east frieze to these two end groups of the north, there is a marked increase in the number of significant factors, until here no important portion of the body withholds its contribution.

(b) *The Athenian Treasury*

Throughout the Cnidian pediment and all the divisions of the frieze there is lacking one factor of the highest significance: the bodies lean to one side or the other, but they do not lean outward. Hampered by the limits of bas-relief, the sculptor treats the whole composition as if it were a fresco, confining the action of his figures to a single plane. Now this movement in a plane belies our experience with reality, where the smallest exertion tips the body in all directions; but even if this violation were in actuality an unfamiliar phenomenon, the artist could legitimately employ it as an effective means of expressing violent agitation. In the whole Cnidian Treasury there is perhaps one weak prototype of this factor, where at the north Athena's body is tipped slightly out of her plane, so that a plumb-line dropped from the centre of gravity would touch the base somewhat to the right of the point where it would fall, were she merely bending to the side. The heavy folds of her himation, especially, fall beyond the plane of her body, contributing an important signal for the inclination of the form beneath them. As is so often the case in the Cnidian Treasury, the vividness of this innovation is increased by contrast with a figure close by,—in

this instance, Hera, over whose whole body, despite the elaboration of the drapery, a single plane could be passed that would touch virtually every point of the surface.

In the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians, the sad fragments of which have a place in this same museum, the artist has not felt himself so strictly bound by a scrupulous conception of the laws of bas-relief. The whole series is characterized by a feeling for the third dimension, some of the most striking instances of which only can be examined. In the metope representing probably a phase of the combat between the gods and giants,¹ though the sculptor signifies the giant's defeat by crushing one leg beneath him and turning the bottom of the foot upward, he has not chosen so significant a general pose nor invented so many significant factors as in the analogous group at the right end of the Cnidian frieze; but the spectator experiences a keener sense of activity, just because the god leans very visibly and naturally out of the single plane. Again, in the metope representing the struggle of Theseus with the Amazon,² the head of the subdued Amazon sinks inertly out of the plane of relief, and the body of Theseus, in accordance, twists forward out of its ordinary plane.

The metope of Theseus and the Minotaur³ displays about the same pose and the same characteristic factors; the head of the Minotaur is struck down out of the relief, even lower than that of the Amazon. Naturally the most lively piece of the series, the struggle of Heracles with the Cerynean hind,⁴ exhibits the same significant factor of the hero's body tossed forth from the strict plane of bas-relief.

The sculptor, however, has not yet perfectly mastered his craft. The device of protruding a part of the body is somewhat new to him, and occasionally he forgets to apply it. A notable example is the metope depicting the contest with the threefold Geryon.⁵ The outer body of the monster, which is the first to fall pierced by the arrow of Heracles, where most we should expect the shambling limpness of death, observes severely the laws of bas-relief in that, though lifeless, it does not waver a centimeter from a single plane. Nay, the figure lacks even the

¹ *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. 43.

³ Pl. 39.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 40.

⁴ Pl. 46.

⁵ Pl. 44-5 (the second metope from the upper left hand corner).

significance of the Cnidian Treasury; the stiff legs hold closely to each other, and worse, the body preserves the same obliquity as the legs. Now it is possible that there is a moment in the fall when the body assumes this identical position, but it is the office of the sculptor, choosing a more significant moment, to crowd into it as many telling factors, even as many different aspects of the fall, as possible. There is no apparent expression of the abandon of the body when the mind has lost control of the flesh. A more prostrate warrior in another fragment¹ presents as unreal a restriction to a single plane. The artist fully retrieves himself, however, in the delineation of the fallen bull. The beast has just struck the ground. The burden of the weight, devolving upon the head and knee, folds the skin of the neck into a great number of easily visible, significant wrinkles. The strict limits of bas-relief are so far overstepped that in the sunken head of the bull the nose is not only thrust out of the plane but over the bounding ridge of the metope.

This factor of violation of the relief has not occurred hitherto in pediment, metope, or frieze. It never attains, of course, anything like an extensive protrusion from the face of the monument, but henceforth the figures of pediments will be treated as separate statues with three dimensions, so that it is possible for them to violate moderately any given plane passed through their bodies. The metopes are not so quick to free themselves from the old tradition. In Selinus E they are still treated as bas-relief. Beginning with the Athenian Treasury, however, which in many other respects is immature, the figures are more or less detached from the background, and if need be, leaned forward. Examples of the same innovation occur in the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and in the so-called Theseum. The Parthenon metopes have it in the Centaurs of Nos. VII and XXVII of the southern series,² and markedly in the protruding legs of the Lapith in No. VIII. But the frieze holds so tenaciously to a strict conception of bas-relief, that in the standing ephebe No. 44 of the north,³ the legs of the horses, prancing in front of him, are actually, though not apparently, sunk in the marble of his leg, in order to preserve the evenness of the surface. It is not until the Phigalian Temple that the laws of bas-relief begin to

¹ Pl. 48, 4.

³ Cf. below, p. 162.

² Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pl. 3.

be disregarded in the frieze, and this freedom does not become license until the abnormalities of Pergamon. It is all the greater credit to the artist when, as in the classical restraint of the Parthenon frieze, he can arouse a lively and a lovely sensation of movement without recourse to the significant factor of protrusion from a plane.

Though in some respects the Athenian Treasury does not display such artistic cleverness as the Cnidian, this addition of an important factor of reality naturally involves a general freedom from archaic conventions and a greater flexibility and variety of movement. The incongruity at the waist is abolished, except for the suggestion of it in the Pholus¹ and for the certainty of it in the extremely difficult and studied posture of the conquered enemy of another metope.² The legs approach their normal size, and exaggeration is confined to the metope in which the arm of Theseus, through miscalculation, winds at inordinate length around the Minotaur's neck. Movement is no longer restricted to slight variations upon two or three themes, such as those of the standing warrior and the Nike, and fresh significant factors are added at will. Thus, in the wrestling of Theseus and Cercyon, the utter exhaustion of the giant is signalled properly through the lax curves of the body, emphasized by contrast with the strong, straight hero, and through the drooping head, which itself finds a significant auxiliary in the lines of the long, hanging neck. Again, one of the forelegs of the subjugated bull is crushed sharply under him by the suddenness of the fall,—a motive much used in this series of reliefs,—and the rebelliously braced hind legs and the hoof of the foreleg, which is not yet sunk inertly upon the ground, are most significant for the comprehension of the attitude, in which the bull, at the moment of striking the ground, has not yet succumbed.

In a larger sense the artist is still unconsciously governed by the inherited tendency to that kind of exaggeration which caused the workman of Temple C at Selinus to represent Perseus's sword half way through Medusa's neck. There are four distinct instances in which the Athenian Treasury represents an episode at a more involved moment than the Theseum, the metopes of which, in subject and composition, are closely analogous. In the metope of the Cerynean hind, the sculptor

¹ *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, p. 44-45, 8.

² Pl. 48, 4.

of the Athenian Treasury represents the still vicious beast tossing Heracles high in the air; the Heracles of the Theseum¹ has already crushed the back of the beast to earth and is breaking his limp neck. Even the struggle with the Nemean lion, though taken perhaps at the same moment, forms a more intricate group than that of the Theseum.² In the more important instances of the Amazon and Geryon metopes Sauer himself notes that the artist of the Theseum chooses a moment when the struggle has already been decided. For the Amazon metope he says³: "Der Sieg ist entschieden; was noch folgen kann, ist Tod oder Unterwerfung"; and still further for the Geryon metope⁴: "Auch hier ist der letzte Moment vor der Entscheidung dargestellt. . . . Noch steht und kämpft, durch die an ihm hängenden Leichname belastet und gehemmt, der dritte Körper; aber auch ihn wird sogleich der Pfeil des Herakles durchbohren, und das Wundergebild wird wie ein Haufen Erschlagener den Boden bedecken." In both these cases the Athenian Treasury shows the participants in the thick of the conflict: the Amazon is not yet crushed to the ground, and only one of the bodies of Geryon is overthrown. It is conclusive that in no case does the artist of the Theseum choose a more violent moment than the sculptor of the earlier monument.

The place of exaggeration of size is taken to some extent by a more elaborate and accurate representation of the muscles that come into play. With the subordination of the waist, up to the period of the east and north portions of the Cnidian Treasury, the designation of the muscles was confined to the legs, in most cases to an extravagant delineation of the important calf muscles of the inner leg. The corrosion at Assos makes it impossible to decide whether this muscle is outlined, but at Selinus C it is certainly marked very strongly. In the Cnidian east and north friezes, the muscles in the legs of the spearmen are studied to greater satisfaction, and where the trunk is not encased in armor the main outlines in the upper body also are indicated at least by a few arbitrary strokes. The delineation of the anatomy of the prostrate figures at the north corresponds to the greater correctness that exists in other respects in these unusual postures.

¹ Bruno Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*, Leipzig, 1899, pl. VI, 3.

² Sauer, pl. VI, 1.

³ P. 176.

⁴ P. 178.

In this significant factor the Athenian Treasury offers an eminent improvement. A moderate, correct, and entirely lovely example may be found in the metope of Heracles and Cynus¹; and an examination of any of the metopes, especially that of Theseus and the Amazon, reveals a surprising reliance upon musculature. The reliefs depicting the struggles with the Nemean lion² and the Cerynean hind³ exhibit elements requiring special analysis. In the former the sculptor has given the essentials of Heracles's exertions by a depression of the neck, a protrusion of the collar bone, and a contraction of the abdomen. In the latter, carried by his enthusiasm even beyond the painstaking but pedantic extremes of the Pollaiuoli in the early Renaissance, he delineates the basket of the ribs and the abdominal muscles with such extravagance that primitive sincerity here strangely produces a result almost as bad as a Byzantine crucifix of the worst period. The metopes of the Theseum, with a more mature knowledge, correct the mistakes and diminish the exaggeration of this sunken abdomen.

The pose of the standing warrior, also, represents a transitional stage between the less primitive portions of the Cnidian frieze and the metopes of the Theseum. It was noted in the former monument that when for one of the two positions of warriors an obliquity of the advanced leg was maintained, this leg was bent very slightly and the upper body inclined. In the Athenian Treasury the bend of the advanced leg is strongly marked, the ordinary type having the lower leg perpendicular to the ground and the upper leg branching off from the body at an angle of about 135°. A typical example is Theseus in strife with the Minotaur. But often the lower leg, as in metope XLIII, also assumes an obliquity outward. As far as can be ascertained from the fragments, the upper body is bent into a harmonious line with the back leg, but Temple E at Selinus will afford more tangible examples. It is noteworthy, however, that the lower leg is never slanted inward. This last innovation, destined to become a characteristic of the standing warrior type, is achieved by the metopes of the Theseum, which represent the golden mean and therefore the most beautiful aspect of

¹ *Fouilles de Delphes*, pl. 42.

² Pl. 44-45 (second from lower left).

³ Pl. 41.

the posture. The archaistic Minerva of the Naples Museum¹ and the archaistic base (No. CXVI) of the Villa Borghese afford good imitations of the incipient slant in the lower leg. The very frieze of the Theseum, which in other respects appears later than the metopes, increases somewhat the inward bend of the lower leg, and the Phigalian frieze carries it to extravagance.

The psychological reason for the early exaggeration of muscles is probably twofold. It is partly the persistence of the old inclination to leave nothing half done, to exaggerate in the fear that the idea to be expressed may not be quite evident; and it is partly a desire of the sculptor to show that he has overcome the ancient rigidity, leading in some cases to an over-scrupulous attention to muscles. Rejoicing in the new strength that is breathing through Greek sculpture, he carries too far the reaction against primitive simplicity. The exaggeration of musculation, however, does not fall victim to the Hellenistic excesses. There is the same distinction that exists between the elaborately outlined anatomy of the works of the Pollaiuoli or the realistically emaciated St. John Baptists of Donatello and his school, and the monstrosities of the disciples of Michelangelo. It is a question of sincerity. The degenerate schools voluntarily commit excesses simply to exhibit their dexterity and to stimulate sensationally the gluttoned spirit of their age. The forerunners of a great period involuntarily are urged on to excesses by a fear lest their work exhibit even the slightest trace of the old traditions and by a childish and effervescent enthusiasm for their new found methods.

B. DORIC MONUMENTS

(a) *The Megarian Treasury*

The Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia² is apposite to our study for two reasons: the emphasis given to movement by a close *mêlée* of the figures in the battle of the gods and giants, and the detracting from movement necessitated by a growing sentiment for symmetry between the two halves of the pediment. The importance of the former factor appears by contrast. Assos offers a series of disconnected incidents, in

¹ Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, I, 227, 1.

² *Olympia: Die Ergebnisse*, III, pl. 2 and 3.

none of which, except in the stereotyped struggle of Heracles and Triton, are the participants very close to one another. In the Cnidian pediment the figures are not interlaced; and the east and north friezes we have seen to be divided into detached groups which do not overlap one another and the members of which themselves are not strikingly involved. Here in the Megarian Treasury, however, each figure is engaged in a fatal hand to hand contest, and the groups are crowded upon one another. The arm of a sinking giant overlaps the lines of Ares's leg; Heracles, who lays low this enemy, stretches his foot beneath the great shield of the central giant; the legs of Zeus and Athena are interlinked; and the giant whom Athena oppresses sinks beside the extended leg of Poseidon. The crowding of the space even more than will appear in the Aegina pediments accentuates the general liveliness of the scene.

The repetition of posture that characterizes the Megarian Treasury may in part be charged to the symmetrical requirements of pedimental composition. The military Dorian, with a greater feeling for regularity than the less stolid Athenian, evinced in another way by the unusual avoidance of the archaic incongruity, is hampered to some extent in his expression of free movement by a desire for an exact correspondence in each half of the pediment. A distinction between the Attic and Doric spirit will be felt by a comparison of this pediment with the Athenian poros pediment of the Hydra, whose halves are so different, or still more strikingly with the other poros pediments, whether the proposed restoration of Lechat¹ or that of Schrader² be correct. The Megarian Treasury is much handicapped by the requirement of symmetry; but the monotony is not wholly due to this convention. On the same side, the left, the giant beneath Poseidon repeats the one beneath Athena, and on the right Heracles is only a higher point in the variation of the Nike pose that occurs in the kneeling Ares. We are indeed far from the many flexible types of the Athenian, nay even of the Cnidian Treasury.

¹ Lechat, *Au Musée de l'acropole d'Athènes*, Lyon, 1903, pp. 117-146.

² From personal notes on lectures in 1905.

(b) Temple E at Selinus

The metopes of Temple E at Selinus¹ are the first in our discussion that can be said to be distinguished by a real sense of beauty. Actaeon, beset by the dogs of the divine huntress, sinks into a posture that it is impossible to describe less vaguely than as utterly graceful; Hera, as she unveils herself to the reverential love of Zeus, is one of the fairest and noblest figures in the whole range of Greek sculpture. Our study hitherto has led us through rough hewn, sometimes ugly pathways, with little that is beautiful to cheer our plodding way, for the hard-won aim of the simple laborer has been to accomplish the task in hand and to let appearances take care of themselves. But now, adding the sentiment of order to the purpose of mere representation, sculpture passes from the stage of primitive attempt, where the attraction consists only in the sincerity of effort, to the stage of primitive beauty, the analytical examination of which will only augment, by justifying, its charm.

The play of curving lines is responsible for a large degree of this loveliness, and is, furthermore, an important factor for the expression of movement. The continuous change of a curve in itself connotes activity more than a straight line; and curves acquire additional significance in that the human body in action naturally falls into successions of ever changing undulations. A concrete example is afforded by a comparison of the straight lines of Perseus in the metope from Temple C with the beautifully curving arms of Theseus and Zeus from Temple E. In the former instance, the extended arm of Perseus seems only an arbitrary symbol; in the latter, the arms of Theseus and Zeus transmit the illusion that these masses of stone are really quivering in motion. An analysis of the many curving lines and a comparison with examples of archaic rigidity might be continued with increasing sensations of pleasure through all the figures of these metopes. But I have already noted in passing the flagrant instances in the earlier monuments of straight lines where we should expect curves; and here I must content myself with the designation of two typical cases of emancipation, first, the lovely curve of Zeus's body as he bends back in half fond, half awed admiration of the celestial fairness of his spouse, contrasted, as it is,

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 290, 291.

with the long straight lines of Hera's drapery ; and second, the melting curve of Actaeon's head upon his shoulder, the first sign that he is succumbing to an undeserved fate.

Beauty and significance meet exactly where before they were in conflict. The old problem of preserving a general frontal position of the upper body and yet depicting the legs in the more conspicuous profile view is solved. There are instances of the sacrifice of a frontal upper for a consistent side position throughout in the Megarian Treasury and in the Apollo and Artemis of the north Cnidian, but the frontal position is more natural for sculpture and indeed at the same time better adapted to the presentation of significant factors in the torso. The attempt to retain it and the inability of primitive technique to reconcile the two positions led to the familiar incongruity. The greater skill of the master of Temple E permits a more adequate solution. First, in the seated body of Zeus there is a correct and most beautiful example of the transition from profile legs to frontal chest, the early attempts at which are managed with ever increasing skill in the marble Victories, in the Cnidian and Athenian Treasuries, and in Temple F at Selinus. Second, and more important for the more active posture of the standing warrior, the sculptor was able to arrive at a solution that should exhibit the contortions of the whole trunk. The foreleg is advanced in profile with the bend at the knee and the inward slant of the lower leg that appear in the Theseum and in Temple F ; but the other leg, breaking the convention according to which both legs should have the same direction, in a very natural pose turns toward the spectator together with the upper body, which is swung forward over the advanced and supporting leg in the manner the beginnings of which I have discussed for the Cnidian Treasury. Sometimes the leg is represented half from the side, half from the front. Usually the heel of this straight back leg is raised by the effort ; to signify attention to the task in hand the head also faces sideward. There is established a new and most graceful type in which the side position of the leg that is in action is made anatomically possible by a correspondence of the other leg to the frontal torso.

Another characteristic of this conventional warrior type deserves comment as represented here for the first time prominently and consistently, — the straight line extending all the way from the back foot to the shoulder. This line, of course, involves a tilt forward of the

torso to conform to the direction of the leg. The beginnings of the tilt we have seen in the Cnidian east and north friezes, but there it did not fall into the line of the legs, because the foreleg was not enough bent to produce an identical obliquity in the torso. The straight line seems a natural concomitant of motion, as if imitated from the similar line that occurs on one side of the conventional figure standing at rest. It was what was lacking in the Heracles of the Cnidian pediment, whose torso was poised stiffly between the oblique legs, so as to form an angle with each. It appears in the Athenian Treasury and in the Theseum, and will be found widely prevalent in all later Greek sculpture.

Heracles, Actaeon, and Athena are perfect examples of the common type of erect warrior; the Amazon oppressed by Heracles is a variation, with the farther leg bending in profile as she falls, the advanced leg stiff and turning outward, the head twisted and pulled over by the hand of the hero, and the straight line from heel to shoulder occurring on the side towards Heracles rather than, as in the ordinary phase, on the other side. The sculptor, however, has not yet attained classical infallibility, for he has exaggerated the falling Enceladus. The principal difficulty is that, like the artist of the Athenian Treasury, he has chosen an excessively advanced moment when the bent leg is thrown too far over by the fall and the dissimilar lines of the two legs are brought into an excessively close and awkward juxtaposition.

The new type facilitates two more details of progress. The retained frontal view of the trunk, by making conspicuous a bend to either side, obviates the necessity of denoting this factor by such a violation of a single plane as was required by the half frontal position in the Athenian Treasury. The sculptor, restrained by a sense of order, stops with a slight protrusion of the foot, as in the Amazon or Actaeon, or a knee, as in Athena. Another improvement for which this new type is responsible is the relaxation of the rigidity of stationary figures by the transference of the bent foreleg to them. The factors of an advanced, bent foreleg, of a torso thrown forward by this advance, and of the tilt of the torso, the initiatory stages of all of which we have seen dissociated in various figures of the Cnidian Treasury, are here finally combined into one harmonious whole.

III. THE CULMINATION

The Olympian and Aeginetan sculptures bring us to the conclusion of our study. The types still retain slight archaic traces, which are no longer hindrances to freedom of expression, but rather add that subtle charm which arouses the same poignant pleasure as old familiar fragrances lingering in rooms that we have loved. Comment upon motion in these different monuments can consist for the most part only in admiring ejaculation and an analysis of each detail of excellence. Such examination would carry me beyond my province and would be productive only of results that bear upon the general modes of combining beauty and movement in developed plastic art. I must restrict myself to a discussion of the final phases of the archaic methods the genesis of which we have so laboriously traced.

In the metopes of the Zeus temple,¹ which treat the old subject of the prowess of Heracles, the enthusiasm which led the artist of the Athenian Treasury, scorning easier aspects, to represent the heat of the action, is mitigated by a less ambitious and more restrained classicism. In only one instance, the struggle with the bull, does the sculptor choose a more active moment. In all others he presents as quiet or even a quieter stage than in the Theseum. The Nemean lion is already slain and Heracles rests after his victory. The Cerynean hind is crushed completely to the earth. Heracles starts off leaving the agonizing Amazon upon the ground. Even the third body of Geryon has sunk to its knees and awaits the final blow. A further evidence of restraint appears in the simplicity of the means employed to represent Heracles assuming the load of Atlas. The mind is led to imagine the heavens above the metope by the upraised and outspread arms of the hero, and in the repetition of this motive by the one assisting arm of Athena (for is she not the mighty one among the goddesses, and could she not, dispensing even with this external sign of the arm, by the word of her power, cause the skies to withhold their weight?). Heracles is not disfigured by ghastly contortions, the opportunities for which would have rejoiced the sculptor of Pergamon. The head alone is bowed beneath the pad, the body rises like a strong, fair column, and the

¹ *Olympia · Die Ergebnisse*, III, pl. 35-45.

classicism of the artist again appears in the two small indentations of the pad, which are like symbols of the great pressure, and in the simplicity of Athena's drapery. Conscious of the impossibility of treating the subject with adequate realism and of observing at the same time aesthetic values, the artist prefers to rest satisfied with the symbolical presentation. Indeed, one gets a general impression of a tendency to consider the different figures as separate statues, the beauties of whose forms are carefully studied, rather than as participants in the scene, with the result that the artist naturally chooses a moment of the episode when the actors shall be less involved.

The details of the standing warrior's position are at the same stage of development as in Temple E at Selinus. The two Heracles of the Cerberus and the Augeas metopes are typical. In the reliefs of the hydra, the boar, and Geryon, a complete profile position is chosen perhaps for the purpose of signifying the greater intentness of Heracles upon these more hazardous tasks. In the case of the Cnossian bull, the sculptor not only represents the torso as frontal, curving the chest at quite a different angle from the abdomen, and marking the change in direction by a strong line at the waist, but to emphasize the superhuman strain of the hero, for once in the series he violates a single plane seriously by projecting the chest. The muscles throughout this series are modelled with a prominence traditionally ascribed to the Doric style, but they are not out of harmony with the stocky forms and do not approximate the youthful exaggeration of the Athenian Treasury. The most noteworthy example is the elaborate play of muscles in the torso of Heracles struggling with the Cnossian bull; the conscious use of this factor is proved by a comparison with the less violently contorted body in the metopes of Cerberus and the Stympalian birds. Whether a Doric peculiarity or not, the musculation is certainly more vigorous than upon the Parthenon, but it is sincere and does not yet approximate the monstrosities of Pergamon.

The eastern pediment,¹ the unprogressive spirit of which is at variance with that of the western, in a representation of the Oenomaus episode so exaggerates the restraint of the metopes and observes so slavishly a symmetry of the two halves that each figure seems to stand

¹ *Olympia: Die Ergebnisse*, III, pl. 9-17.

as an isolated statue unconnected with the others, or with the action itself, and there is almost a return to the primitive stare of Temple C at Selinus.

In the Aeginetan sculptures the spirit of classicism attains its most satisfactory expression. Seeking the same restraint in composition that we shall find characteristic of the individual figures, I should be disposed to cling to the old grouping of the sculptures in the Glyptothek at Munich. Furtwängler's new arrangement¹ has much to recommend it; but the general attitude of the sculptor should be of some determinative weight. In the old arrangement² the intricacy of composition that appears in the Megarian Treasury and in the Centaur pediment of Olympia is abandoned. The subject of the battle itself requires more action than the Oenomaus pediment of Olympia, but this more primitive of the two pediments of the Zeus temple is still so characterized by an excessive stiffness and an archaic fear of attempting what may prove too difficult that the participants in the episode have only a nominal connection with one another. If we hold to the old composition of the Aeginetan pediment, the figures are undoubtedly associated; but in this point, as in all others, the sculptor succeeds in attaining the golden mean. By separating the battle into two distinct parties, one on either side of the central arbiter, Athena, he is enabled to avoid the pitched battle of man with man that appears in the Megarian and Centaur pediments at Olympia and in Furtwängler's new arrangement, and yet not to violate the general reality of the scene. He is permitted to follow the middle course: he can depict each figure as related in activity to the other parts of the pediment, and, rid of the necessity of exerting his whole ingenuity upon the vast number of significant factors of motion in the heroes of heated hand-to-hand fights, he can present the combatants in a comparative repose that will facilitate more attention to aesthetic details.

The crowning example of the results achieved in the old grouping by this possibility of treating each figure somewhat as a detached statue

¹ Furtwängler, *Die Aegineten der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I*, Munich, 1906; id., *Aegina, Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Munich, 1906, Text, pp. 176 ff.; pl. 95-106.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 23-28; C. R. Cockerell, *The Temples of Zeus Panhelios at Aegina and Apollo Epicurius at Bassae*, London, 1860, pl. 14-16.

appears in the justly renowned Heracles of the east pediment. Here factors of beauty and movement combine in most harmonious proportion. An analysis of the aesthetic value of the statue, even were it fully possible, is beyond the scope of this essay. That I must confidently leave to the admiring dictum of general consent and to the individual taste of the reader. I confine myself to comment upon a few details of expression of movement. The strong sensation of high tension is centered in the two factors of the powerfully extended arm holding the bow and in the lithe balance imparted to the whole figure by the elevation of the supporting knee from the ground and by the concentration of the weight upon the foot of that leg. The great influence of both these factors is apparent by a comparison with the two archers of the west pediment, in whom the former factor is lacking and the latter not so well indicated. Not that either of these two figures is unsuccessful. The unnamed archer at the right of the centre¹ is at a very high and lovely point of tension. The impression of repressed and stored energy is achieved by leaning the body as far back as possible upon the right supporting leg. The torso bends slightly in a correct and pleasant curve that denotes a crouching of the body to obtain better aim, and as a vast improvement upon the compression of the legs into a single plane, which I have deprecated in many of the archaic monuments, the legs are here spread apart at different angles from the body to give more poise and freedom. The moment chosen is just before the shaft flies, and the greater impression of movement afforded by such a moment of suspense is evident by a comparison with the poor stalking Heracles of Assos or the Apollo and Artemis of the north Cnidian frieze, who with bodies actually bent forward and bows in relaxation go prowling about as if in search of prey, before they draw themselves up into position. The other archer, the so-called Paris, is more like Heracles in the projection of the left leg with an obtuse angle at the knee and with the toes raised in the effort. The corresponding leg of the anonymous archer meets the base perpendicularly with a right angle at the knee and the foot flat upon the ground, but he is at a higher point of tension in that Paris leans too far forward as if at the moment just after the flight of the shaft.

¹ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I zu München*, 1900, fig. 77.

Heracles possesses in greater beauty and efficacy the good factors of these two bowmen, and adds to them the balanced knee and the rigid firmness of the extended arm. The suspension of the knee permits not only an easier position in that instead of cramping the toes by the weight, as in the other two archers, it transfers the weight to the balls of the feet, but also a greater elasticity for the manipulation of the weapon; and it adds, furthermore, a certain agility to the whole body. The arm is outstretched in the other two archers, but not with such energetic straightness. The monotony of the straight arm, moreover, is varied by the curves of the strained muscles; the head is sunk lower in the intensity of the aim; and another subtle detail appears for the first time in this kneeling posture — the careful disposition of the folds of the chiton and the ends of the cuirass, in conformity to the law of gravity, to accentuate the upraised leg. The extreme back position of the body designates an instant just before the arrow flies. Such a moment of extreme tension is in itself an evidence of the classic spirit. As the body has not yet sprung forward into its most agitated position, the sensation of concentrated energy is so strong that it is transmitted to the spectator himself. His feeling of activity is keener, for, whereas if a later moment had been chosen, he would only behold the motion and not have the sense of participation, here, experiencing in himself the tension, he is carried forward by his imagination into the act itself. With classic moderation the sculptor chooses a moment not in preparation for the act or in the midst of the act, but the crucial moment just before.

A similar precise study of individual figures is found in the erect¹ and the half kneeling² warriors. The foreleg of the standing spearman beside Athena of the west is not bent quite so far forward as in the Theseum and the Olympian metopes; but the angle at the knee is greater than in the metopes of Olympia, Selinus E, or the Athenian Treasury, which in this detail of the warrior's position, as in the others, are about equal. The more acute angle at the knee is very significant for violent action and is much employed in later monuments. It appears for the first time emphatically in these Aeginetan pediments; but the Parthenon frieze, as usual advancing even upon the Parthenon

¹ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, fig. 78.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 82.

metopes, narrows this angle still farther, in two cases, 47 and 58 of the north frieze,¹ using the artificial means of elevating the foot upon some object in order to preserve the smaller angles without tilting the torso inordinately. Exaggeration of the legs is so far forgotten in a liteness which conforms to the ordinary Attic taste that the figures of Olympia seem stocky in comparison.

In the half kneeling figures a comparison with the corresponding Ares and Poseidon of the Megarian Treasury makes clear the progressive spirit of Aegina. In the former monument the aim seems only to show the violent activity through a great inclination of the whole body and a cramping of the foreleg. With greater regard for aesthetic value the sculptor at Aegina abandons this cramping for a more erect position of the legs but achieves the purpose of movement even better by a bend of the upper body out of the line of the lower. Furtwängler is apparently correct in considering the half kneeling posture reminiscent of the archaic type of the runner, which is identical with that of the Nike.² We have seen in the Centaurs at Assos a clear instance of this attitude for running, but the awkwardness is here diminished by bringing the back foot to the ground, as if the runner had suddenly stopped to thrust with his spear. When the modern critic considers the strength of an old motive that persists, in spite of ugliness, in a monument so developed and so attentive to aesthetic demands, it helps him to appreciate the brave effort that was required of these sculptors in the first half of the fifth century to overcome ancient traditions in the expression of movement.

The spirit of restraint appears again in the position of the dying warriors. In the left-hand figure of the west pediment Furtwängler³ asserts with probable accuracy that the artist meant to represent the agonizing contortions of death. Plastic art is not bound by the same restrictions as literary art to keep the death agony off the stage; but it is to be noted that the Aeginetan sculptors will have none of the

¹ Michaelis, pl. 12.

² *Beschreibung*, fig. 78. A still more convincing example of such a reminiscence is offered by a warrior on the eastern part of the south outer wall at Gjölbaschi, where the foreleg, as in the old posture of Assos, is still elevated high in the air.

³ P. 101.

writhings of the Laocoön. The designation of muscles, as throughout these pediments, is much slighter than in the Athenian Treasury or the Olympian metopes. The convulsion in the figure at the left hand¹ is reduced to the state of symbolism in the slight contraction of the extended leg, the significant but agreeable placing of the right leg over the left, and the slight twist of the upper body, the importance of which is increased by a comparison with the straight line of the half fallen Achilles at the centre. The countenance is absolutely passive, unless with Furtwängler we consider the open mouth as a conscious effort at facial expression. Selinus F presents a childish toying with this factor in the giant who lapses back in the death agony, but except in the case of such prodigies as giants or Centaurs it was left to the Hellenistic age to develop the dangerous tool to satisfy the craving for sensation. In the figure at the right end,² the crossing of the legs is abandoned, and the convulsive curve of the upper body so much relaxed that it is doubtful if any thing more than prostration is intended.

If there is not in these figures the enchanting variety of the north frieze of the Cnidian Treasury, it is because pedimental composition requires that one be the symmetrical repetition of the other, for when we pass to the east, we find immediately a new pose for the dying warrior.³ Here, where again with painstaking attention to the existence of the piece of sculpture as a separate statue, the artist combines harmoniously the factors of beauty and movement, the death agony, in better accordance with the spirit of classicism, is rejected, and the moment just before utter prostration chosen. With great individuality the upper body is not only twisted out of the single plane, but actually turned around a quarter towards the ground, which the head faces completely. The right arm is stretched over the body in a desperate effort to prevent the limp form from thus sinking upon its chest. As Furtwängler observes,⁴ much accrues to the impression of laxitude from the attempt to support the weight of the body upon the shield by a hand that is itself too weak to clasp the inner band. The violation of the single plane, which is the one thing unavoidably lacking in the brilliantly treated lying figures of the Cnidian Treasury, is here extended to so

¹ *Beschreibung*, fig. 79.

² Fig. 83.

³ Fig. 85.

⁴ P. 110.

complete a lapse of one leg out of the plane of the other that the foot protrudes over the edge of the pediment. The warrior unites the two phases of an ebbing strength and of a last revolt against his fate. Though the Cnidian prostrate giants are characterized by a most fertile invention and an astounding delicacy of execution, it is the skill and charm of such an artist as Benozzo Gozzoli, — the magic of Fairyland, — and not the complex yet sober reality exemplified in the east pediment of Aegina.

None of the Aeginetan restraint is discernible in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.¹ The moment of highest activity is chosen and the action depicted with the utmost abandon. The whole purpose of the sculptor is violent action, and he lets beauty take its own course. Not that the types are unattractive. From the desk at which I write I can see the head of Apollo that I always hang so as to be visible from any part of the study. I can remember now a certain icy January day at Olympia when, despite coats drenched and temples flooded so that one had literally to wade to the museum, my comrade, whose artistic dictum was much to be respected, waxed so enthusiastic as to describe the head of the woman the Germans call Deidameia as the most beautiful Greek fragment in the world. But it is as if such loveliness and nobility of feature came to the sculptor without exertion, as a natural heritage of the times, and his conscious effort he has spent upon the expression of extreme activity.

A comparison with the southern metopes of the Parthenon, upon which the same subject of the Centaurs and Lapiths is treated, reveals the greater activity of Olympia. One of the essential elements of a struggle between a Centaur and the woman he seeks to carry off is that he have a firm hold upon her and that she strive to evade him. The leg of the Centaur encircling Deidameia from behind parallels roughly the same motive in metope XII,² and there is a like parallelism between the symmetrically corresponding group on the other side of the pediment and metope X. In all, the woman tries to root herself to the spot against the Centaur's efforts; and in the Deidameia and metope XII the drapery caught up by the Centaur's hoof augments the impression of an animated struggle. In both the Olympian groups,

¹ *Olympia: Die Ergebnisse*, III, pl. 18-34.

² Michaelis, pl. 3.

however, as in the Olympian metope of the Cnossian bull, the two entangled bodies are driven off in different directions more than upon the Parthenon; and in both cases the separation is managed by more clever and significant means. Deidameia forces the Centaur from her with her elbow, and with the same hand strives to loosen his clutch upon her breast. The woman in the symmetrical correspondent performs the same act with both hands, and with the pinching and scratching that only feminine strength can inflict. In their superior individualization these methods are far more conspicuous and hence effective. Other similar ingenious details are the Centaur's bite upon the arm of a Lapith, the underthrust of the kneeling Lapith, the grasp of a Centaur upon a woman's hair, and the encircling of this Centaur's head by the Lapith's arms. The system of opposite inclinations, furthermore, is very effective for the impression of a close combat in the two groups of three at either extremity. The compression of significant factors into these scenes is brought into much greater prominence by contrast with the inferior invention of similar groups¹ in the slovenly sculptures of Gjölbaschi, where the factors are confined to a general fluttering of arms, legs, and raiment. The pediment has the advantage of affording an opportunity to bend the bodies and heads more conspicuously out of the single plane. The Olympian sculptor manipulates this characteristic even in the difficult double attitude of the Centaur who struggles with the female and is at the same time sinking upon the upward thrust of a Lapith's sword; but the upright bodies of the Centaurs in metopes X, XII, and XXIX of the Parthenon do not use what opportunities for contortions they have. The splendid and involved union of three figures in a single *mêlée* — the assailant, the assailed, and the defender — is an important factor for the expression of the intense confusion of the fight, the embryonic stage of which has been discussed in the triple group at the right end of the north Cnidian frieze. Indeed, the *mêlée* throughout is closer than in the Parthenon metopes, and the whole action more vital.²

¹ Benndorf and Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, pl. XXIII and XI A 6.

² Considerations of movement are of some value in elucidating the much debated and familiar problems about these sculptures. They would not permit me to subscribe to the belief of Puchstein (*Jahrbuch des arch. Instituts*, V, 1890, p. 97) and

IV. THE PARTHENON

The Parthenon frieze affords a complete and convenient summary of these years of faithful effort. The fond charm of archaism, the secret of whose mysterious fairness lies in the possibility of easily discerning and lingering over two or three elements of beauty, which are brought into greater prominence because dissociated from the additional loveliness that appears in the more mature work, is replaced by the loftier and more enduring charm of perfection. In this perfection the significant factors of movement, which have been the object of this study, occur at the golden moment of their evolution and in harmonious relation to one another; and it is only as the culmination of laborious, though earnest, attempts at the rendition of these factors that the Parthenon frieze can be definitely understood or soundly appreciated.

The rough old means of exaggeration has given way in the warrior's position to gentle curves of the legs, or in the more violent positions, to more decided curves, without, however, an extravagant distortion of the upper body, which is prevented in several cases, as has been seen,¹ by so elevating the bending leg upon some object as to preserve the marked curve and yet to keep the body in an upright posture. The emphasis upon the legs, rendered in earlier days by the incongruous juncture of the upper and lower bodies, is achieved more fittingly by the graceful position in which the necessary frontal torso and the effect

Collignon (*Histoire de la sculpture grecque*, I, p. 459) in an identical source for both pediments. The alleged similarities in technique are superficial and not of the unconsciously recurring type required by Morelli's system for an accurate judgment. The most specific, a broad handling of the neck, is by no means consistently observed nor peculiar to this monument. The very argument of a difference in style, used to prove that Paeonius cannot be the author of both the Nike and the east pediment, would also disprove identity of authorship for the two pediments. Recalling the long life of Titian and the important painting in the Brancacci Chapel assigned to Filippino Lippi in his youth, I could well believe that Paeonius or Alcamenes, artists of great promise, could have worked upon the Zeus pediments in early life, and that their periods of production extended over fifty years. Having before me such an utter change of style as appears between the early and late work of Filippino or Titian, I could not deny the possibility of the same sculptor. But it is far more improbable that there should be such an utter change of spirit as would painfully avoid violent movement in the one pediment and as painfully strive for it in the other.

¹ Cf. above, p. 158.

of profile legs are preserved by turning one of the legs somewhat towards the spectator; the first stage of this revolution has been studied at Selinus E, and the Parthenon frieze furnishes classic examples, especially in figures 44, 47, and 58 of the north frieze.¹ The forms are outlined beneath the drapery; and the rude attempts at wind-blown folds, discussed in the later archaic Victories, have here flowered into untrammelled freedom. The whole warrior's position, the evolution of which has been traced from the first ungainly Heracles of the Cnidian pediment through the gradually limbering forms of the north and east Cnidian frieze and of the Athenian Treasury to the emancipated heroes of the Olympian metopes and the Aeginetan pediments, receives on the Parthenon an expression which, though no longer checked by archaism, yet of its own will holds firmly within the bounds of aesthetic restraint. The same confident spirit of controlled power causes the sculptor, scorning the significant factor of projection from the single plane, so confidently to trust to the expression of movement through two dimensions that to keep the smoothness of relief in some cases he actually imbeds one body in the marble of another, as at the north a horse's in a human leg.²

The principal constituents of the warrior's position, as we have seen in Selinus E,³ are applied in less violent form to relieve the rigidity of stationary or walking figures; a comparison of the Canephoroi⁴ of the east frieze or of the Thallophori⁵ of the north with the standing personages of the Harpy Monument will aid in appreciating the progress that has been achieved in the introduction of freedom and movement even into the less agitated types. Geometric formality, indeed, is quite forgotten in the liveliness imparted by a series of curves. In these walkers, also, especially in the Thallophori, and again preëminently in the cantering ephebes of the west and south, the unrelieved monotony of the Assos Nereids is supplanted by great variation of similar figures, — a significant factor for motion that first gains prominence in

¹ Michaelis, pl. 12.

² Michaelis, pl. 12, fig. 44; cf. also E. von Mach, *Greek Sculpture, its Spirit and Principles*, Boston, 1903, p. 48; and above, p. 144.

³ Cf. above, p. 152.

⁴ Michaelis, pl. 14, figs. 7-17.

⁵ Michaelis, pl. 12, figs. 31-43.

the Cnidian Treasury. Each figure individually has been the object of careful attention ; but whereas at Aegina and Olympia this characteristic savoured too much of the archaic tendency to isolate and elaborate single elements of beauty, the Parthenon not only attains the same loveliness of form, but is able also to unite and harmonize the separate figures into a mightier beauty of the whole.

The Parthenon frieze is thus something more than an unrelated example of the summit of human achievement. It is more sacred because the tangible epitome of two centuries of hard, unfaltering labor. Forth from beneath the unadulterated loveliness of its forms there groan the strivings, the failures, the irksome successes of a long line of plodding sculptors. It is a more seemly ornament for the dwelling place of the virgin goddess of the crafts in that it is, as it were, the memorial of many faithful craftsmen, each detail of which is a separate trophy to some hard won victory over primitive unreality. And for this reason the charm of the Parthenon will endure. Raphael has been deposed ; Leonardo is tottering. Raphael was adored because, exemplifying best the ideals, of the Renaissance, he reproduced most successfully ancient standards, but the taste for these standards is a thing of the past. If the day should ever come that the aesthetic ideal should be so far altered as not to include the Parthenon frieze, it must still be profoundly appreciated as at once the culmination and the palpable embodiment of the slowly but securely evolved significant factors of motion.

AN EMENDATION OF VITRUVIUS

BY C. A. R. SANBORN

IN our printed text of Vitruvius, 2, 1, 1 (33, 24 Rose), the word *aliter* seems to be used in a sense that is, so far as I am aware, without precise parallel in any other passage of Latin. The second book, in which this unique use of *aliter* occurs, is chiefly occupied with a description of various kinds of building materials, and is prefaced by an introduction which treats the origin of building, and which sketches briefly the development of civilization among mankind through the discovery of fire and of language.

It is on this last point, that is, the discovery and development of language, that we must fix our attention, as my proposed solution of the difficulty in connection with the word *aliter* depends for its support in some measure on the theory which Vitruvius held in regard to this particular subject. Did he ascribe the development of speech to *θεῖος* or to *φύσις*? An answer to this question may be found by examining the author's words. After stating that primæval men at first lived like wild beasts in woods and caves, and fed on such food as came to hand, he describes the creation of fire by the friction of forest branches agitated by the wind. He then goes on to say, *et eo flamma vehementi perterriti qui circa eum locum fuerunt sunt fugati. post ea requieta propius accedentes cum animadvertissent commoditatem esse magnam corporibus ad ignis teporem, ligna adicientes et ita conservantes alios adducebant et nutu monstrantes ostendebant quas haberent ex eo utilitates. in eo hominum congressu cum profundebantur aliter e¹ spiritu voces, cotidiana consuetudine vocabula ut obtigerant constituerunt, deinde significando res saepius in usu ex eventu fari fortuito coeperunt et ita sermones inter se procreaverunt.*

This may be translated as follows: "and so, thoroughly frightened by the violent flame, those who were about the place fled away. After

¹ Rose in both his editions omits the word *e*. The MSS., however, have *aliter espiritu*, and *e spiritu* is the preferable reading.

the blaze had subsided and they had drawn near and perceived how great a comfort to their bodies was the warmth near the fire, they threw on logs and in this way kept the fire burning. Then they brought other men to it and made known by mute gestures what advantages they derived from fire. In this gathering of human beings, since sounds were emitted from the breath in different ways, men by daily use established names for objects just as they had hit upon them. Finally, by indicating things oftenest in use (by the same word) they began to speak, quite by chance, and thus created language."

It is apparent, then, that Vitruvius does not regard language from a pragmatic point of view, as something which man deliberately preconceived as advantageous, and then adopted, but he regards it rather as a growth, attributable to natural development. This is the well-known Epicurean doctrine of the natural inception of language. As Proclus, in his commentary to the Platonic *Cratylus* (p. 9, ed. Boissonade), states :
 ὁ γὰρ Ἐπίκουρος ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐχὶ ἐπιστημόνως οὗτοι ἔθεντο τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ φυσικῶς.

Now Lucretius, we know, accepted this doctrine and has given it expression in Book V of the *De Rerum Natura*, where he traces the development of civilization. Especially to be noted are verses 1028-1029 :

*At varios linguae sonitus natura subegit
 mittere et utilitas expressit nomina rerum.*

Vitruvius and Lucretius show numerous striking parallels of expression in their account of man's growth from savagery to culture. These parallels have been collected and discussed by Merrill in an article *On the Influence of Lucretius on Vitruvius* (*Am. Phil. Ass'n*, XXXV, 1904, pp. xvi-xx). Merrill's conclusion is that Vitruvius and Lucretius at least used the same sources in their account, even if Vitruvius was not directly influenced by Lucretius.

With these facts in mind, namely, that both Vitruvius and Lucretius are stating the Epicurean doctrine of φύσις in relation to the growth of language, and that Vitruvius uses in his description many of the phrases employed by Lucretius, let us turn to the particular phrase of Vitruvius which offers difficulty. We observe that *aliter* here cannot be interpreted in its usual sense of "otherwise," but must be made to carry the

weight of some such meaning as "in different ways," "in ways differing from one another."

Vitruvius has, in the course of his treatise, employed *aliter* fifteen times in its usual sense. In two other passages, besides the one at present under discussion, he has used the word in a sense that approaches the meaning which, if the traditional text is correct, it must be made to yield in the passage we are considering.

Of these two other apparently similar uses of *aliter*, the first appears at 14, 24. Vitruvius tells how the architect should vary his structures according to the means and social distinction of his patrons, *alter gradus erit distributionis, cum ad usum patrum familiarum aut ad pecuniae copiam aut ad eloquentiae dignitatem aedificia aliter disponentur*. And again, 218, 23, speaking of the variations in the construction of sundials, necessitated by difference of location, he says, *umbra gnomonis aequinoctialis alia magnitudine est Athenis alia Alexandriae aliae Romae non eadem Placentiae ceterisque orbis terrarum locis. itaque longe aliter distant descriptiones horologiorum locorum mutationibus*.

In the second of these passages all MSS. agree in reading *aliter*; in the first, *alte* stands in H S G, but *aliter* appears in L, is clearly required by the sense, and has been adopted by Rose in both editions. In each of these passages *aliter* has the meaning, "different from one another," but clearly neither passage is parallel to 33, 24; for in this case *aliter* has to bear the weight of the extended meaning unassisted, while in 14, 24, and in 218, 23, the preceding series of distributives, *alter, aut, aut*, in the one instance, *alia, alia, aliae* in the other, at once dispose of any ambiguity or oddity that might otherwise lurk in the *aliter* which follows. In each of these passages the use of *aliter*, with the meaning "in different ways," "in ways differing from one another," is justified by the distributive ideas previously expressed.

Two further citations of *aliter* are given by Morgan, *On the Language of Vitruvius* (*Proc. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XLI, 1906, p. 481). The first, from Pomponius Mela, 1, 57, *multo aliter a ceteris agunt*, appears not to help us here; the second, from Seneca *Q. N.*, 4, praef. 22, is quoted as follows in the *Thesaurus*, p. 1656, 40: (*Sicilia*) *uno . . . tempore vidit Pompeium Lepidumque ex maximo fastigio aliter ad extrema detectos, cum Pompeius alienum exercitum fugeret, Lepidus suum*. Here *aliter* does indeed have the meaning "in different ways," but it

should be noted that in this instance, too, the distributive idea is already indicated by the *-que*, and that this use of *aliter* with *-que* is similar to that of *aliter et*, as the *Thesaurus* implies.¹

There is, then, apparently no authority either of Vitruvian usage or of usage found in late authors which can justify the *aliter* of 33, 24. The difficulty has long been felt, and some emendations have been suggested. Nohl (*Archiv f. Lat. Lex.*, II, 1885, p. 490) suggests *obiter*, and compares *ut obtigerant* below. Degering (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1907, XXVII, p. 1567) supposes some early manuscript to have read *halitu et spiritu*. He imagines the first letter of *halitu* to have been indicated by the sign $\vdash = H$ written above the word. In the copying, he thinks that this sign was omitted, and that the resulting form *alitu*, being unintelligible, was changed by a later copyist to *aliter*, that *et* became *e*, and that the phrase then read, *aliter espiritu*, as in all our MSS. Degering's emendation (*halitu et spiritu*) is adopted, as usual without any warning that it is an emendation, by the editors of the *Thesaurus*, and for this reason they do not cite the use of *aliter* in 33, 24.

The passage is undeniably corrupt, as Nohl and Degering both indicate, but their emendations do more violence to the actual reading of the text as it stands in the MSS. than does one which has occurred to me, namely, the change of *aliter* to *naturaliter*. The letters N, A, T, U, R, are all found in the ending of the word *profundebantur*, where, however, the A precedes the N. If, in some early manuscript, the letters *natur* stood at the end of a line, and the letters *aliter* at the beginning of the next line below, confusion might easily arise in a copy of that manuscript by the scribe's mistaking the ending *-aliter* for a word in itself, and the letters *natur* for the ending of a verb in the passive voice.

¹ Editions of Seneca *Q. N.* read in 4 praei. 22, *aliter aliterque*; Gercke, however, who made the extracts from Seneca for the *Thesaurus*, in a letter to Hey (cf. *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* XV, 1907, p. 289) states that this reading is found only in codex E (*Berolinensis. Erfurtanus*). The appearance of this reading there, as well as in modern printed texts, is doubtless due to the fact that the disjunctive force of the *-que* in *Lepidumque* was not fully appreciated. Fickert, in his edition of Seneca (Leipzig, 1845), reports the reading *aliter aliterque* as appearing in two MSS., E and e; while in a single manuscript (G) the reading *aliterque* is found; this latter was the reading adopted for the Bipontine editions of 1782 and 1809, and in Koeler's edition of the *Q. N.*, 1819, as Fickert reports.

This brings us to a consideration of the verb in this passage. Did Vitruvius write *profundebantur* or *profundebant*? The latter, probably, for the corruption of *profundebantur naturaliter* into *profundebantur aliter* seems less simple than does the corruption of *profundebant naturaliter* into this phrase. Moreover, by retaining the verb in the active voice the same subject, "primaeval men," is kept throughout the entire passage as the subject of the successive verbs.

Hence, according to the emendation which I propose, the sentence reads, *in eo hominum congressu cum profundebant naturaliter e spiritu voces, cotidiana consuetudine vocabula ut obtigerant constituerunt*, and the sense will be, "in this gathering of human beings, since they were in the habit of emitting sounds naturally from the breath, they established names for objects, just as they had hit upon them."

Finally, it may be urged that *naturaliter* emphasizes the Epicurean theory of φύσις which Vitruvius is here quite evidently following and, at the same time, offers another parallel to the words of Lucretius already quoted:

*At varios linguae sonitus natura subegit
mittere.*

Vitruvius elsewhere employs *naturaliter* fifteen times.

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